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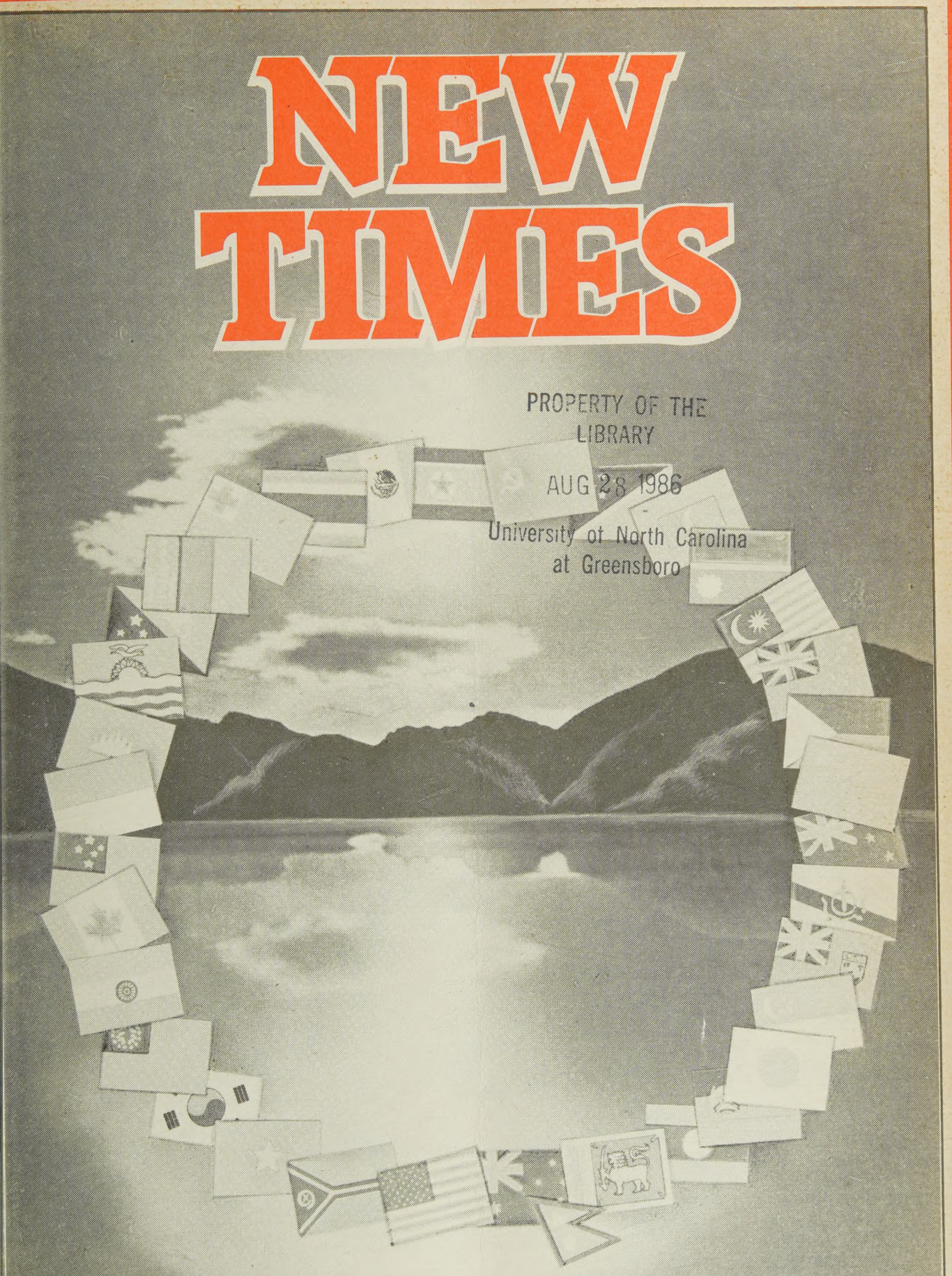
NEW TIMES



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Lenin at the First Congress of the Comintern.

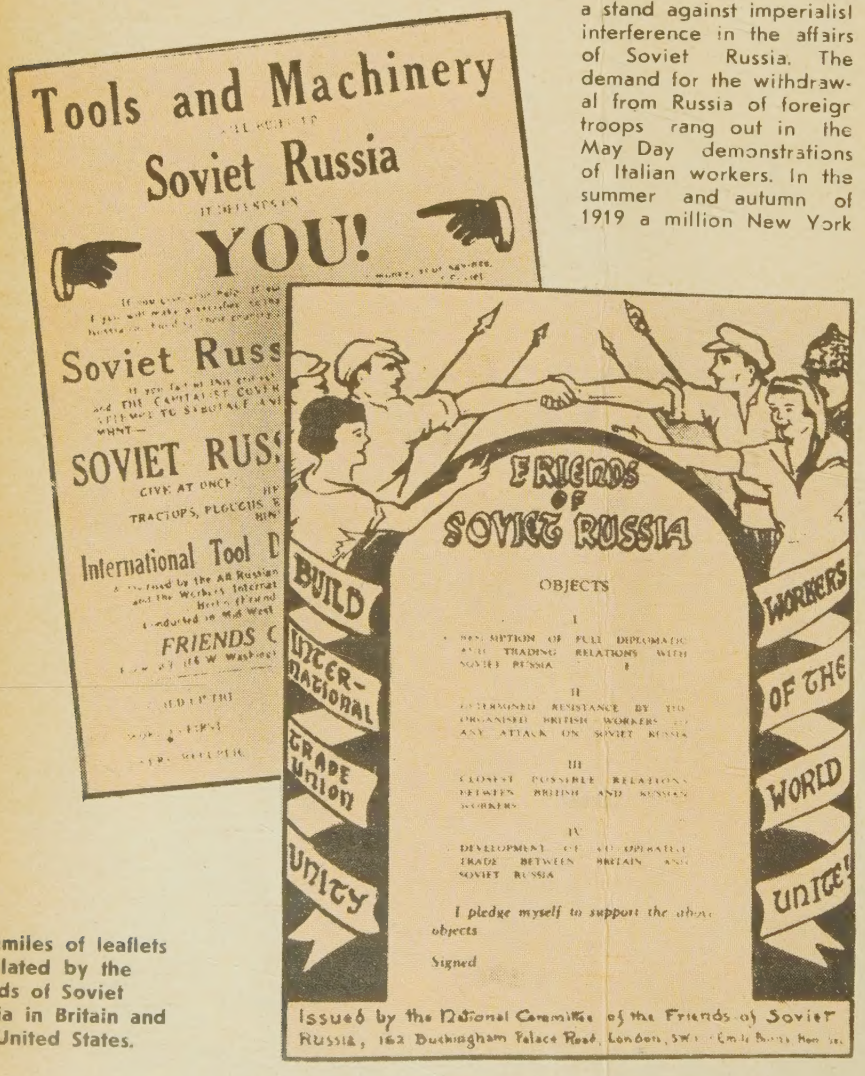
In its fight against the foreign intervention and later, when it won an equal place for itself in the world community, the young Soviet republic was never alone. All who were inspired by the Bolsheviks' challenge to put an end to wars of conquest and to foreign interference in the affairs of sovereign states rose to its defence.

...London, January 1919. Responding to the call of the miners of Yorkshire and South Wales, the textile workers of Lancashire and the electrical workers of the British capital, a specially convened national conference set up a committee which sounded the clarion call: "Hands Off Russia!" Some 350 action councils sprang up all over the British Isles. They demanded an end to the anti-Soviet intervention, to the blockade of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

Working-class France, too, was set in motion. Mass strikes were its reply to the appeal of the revolutionary majority of the Socialist Party to take a stand against imperialist interference in the affairs of Soviet Russia. The demand for the withdrawal from Russia of foreign troops rang out in the May Day demonstrations of Italian workers. In the summer and autumn of 1919 a million New York workers took part in anti-war meetings.

The revolutionary spirit spread to the interventionist troops as well. On August 20, 1919, the red flag of solidarity waved over the Sevastopol harbour from the mast of the France, flagship of the French fleet, and the battleship Jean Bart. In Odessa the sailors of the cruiser Waldeck-Rousseau refused to shoot at the Red Army units advancing on the city. In the north of the republic American soldiers fraternized with Red armymen. "Stop all the plans of intervention in Russia!" was the slogan issued by the soldiers of the British expeditionary forces.

The class consciousness of the workers everywhere grew under the influence of the socialist revolution on whose banners was inscribed peace to the peoples. Lenin had every grounds to say: "We were victorious not because we were the stronger, but because the working folk of the Entente countries proved to be closer to us than to their own governments."



Facsimiles of leaflets circulated by the friends of Soviet Russia in Britain and the United States.

For earlier instalments of our brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the struggle for peace see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28.

SIX-NATION APPEAL

Growing anxiety about the future of civilization, awareness that humanity is being made hostage to nuclear death, and realization of the common responsibility of all for the fate of peace --this is what motivates the informal group of leaders of six countries on four continents--Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden--who for more than two years now have been working to get progress towards nuclear disarmament started.

The six leaders have now met again, this time in Ixtapa, Mexico, on the anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to affix their signatures to their Mexico Declaration, an anti-militarist document reflecting the will of all people throughout the world. It is a passionate call to end the arms race, to reduce armaments of every type, and primarily the nuclear, with a view to the eventual total elimination of this suicidal means of mass destruction. This, the Declaration stresses, must be given absolute priority. This is consonant with the desire of all sober-minded men and women, of all peoples, with the programme put forward by the Soviet Union for ridding the planet completely of nuclear weapons by the end of the century.

As the initial step it is essential to put an end without delay to all nuclear tests, the participants in the Mexico meeting stressed. This is a call to follow the example of the Soviet Union, which for more than a year has observed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. Meanwhile such explosions have been staged one after another in the United States. It is easy to see, then, to whom the call issued in Ixtapa to begin at any rate by converting the unilateral moratorium into a bilateral one is primarily addressed.

The leaders of the six countries do not confine themselves to issuing appeals. They again offer their practical help in the creation of verification mechanisms for such a moratorium and eventually for an urgently needed treaty on the total prohibition of nuclear tests.

The signatories of the Declaration also call for the prevention of the militarization of outer space, scrupulous observance of agreements on its use only for peaceful purposes, and strict adherence to the ABM and SALT-2 treaties.

In brief, the substance of this timely document is: there must be no repetition of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, mankind must live in a nuclear-free world. The fight for a peaceful world with a secure future is the concern of each and all.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I believe that the period since the Chernobyl accident will go down in the history of our "democratic" Western society as one of its most shameful pages. In all this time our press has not uttered a word of sympathy or compassion for your people. All kinds of false reports, misinformation and downright lies have been used in order to give a distorted picture of what has happened. Yet this was an appropriate moment to pause and give thought to the value of human solidarity, to the preservation by joint effort of our common home.

Alfonso DI LUISO
Canosa Di Puglia, Italy

The articles in your issue No. 25 about the heroic fight waged by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War impelled me to write to you. Whenever I read about the war or watch TV programmes on the subject I am overcome by a feeling of deep shame for the brutality of the men who brought so much suffering to your country. Last year my husband and I visited the former concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. There was a group of Soviet tourists there at the same time. How ashamed we were for those fascist killers! I was fortunate to have been born in the German Democratic Republic and I owe this to your people, to those many unknown soldiers who gave their lives for the happiness of others.

Jenny ZAUMSEIL
Berlin, G.D.R.

In his speech in Vladivostok Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about what has to be done to strengthen peace and security of the Asian and Pacific countries. It would be a good thing if your journal published articles about the political and economic situation in that region.

B. LIZGACHEV
Chkalovsk, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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COVER by A. Garanin

AFTER THE 1,222 DAYS

of the ordeal of his trial Sergei Antonov needs medical care and rest. But the courageous Bulgarian is determined to carry on the fight for justice. He demands that the absurd charges laid by the Italian judicial authorities against him and his compatriots be conclusively dropped.

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A FREE HAND

for private capital is the substance of the French government's economic strategy. It is planned to sell 65 state-owned corporations, insurance companies and banks within the next five years. But will this make for increased production or provide jobs? Will other pressing problems be resolved?

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THE TRUTH AND RUMOURS

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a confidential letter to Mikhail Gorbachev. Though it has not been officially made public, the U.S. press has carried information about its content. Why this obviously deliberate leakage? What are the real aims of those who have sanctioned it?

The question is discussed in commentaries by Nikolai Shishlin and Alexander Bovin.

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"THE MARBLE MAN"

is the title of a well-known film by Andrzej Wajda. The prototype of the leading character of the picture, a Warsaw bricklayer, is the subject of a feature story by Vitaly Ganyushkin.

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JOINTLY TOWARDS GOOD-NEIGHBOURSHIP

GEORGI KIM, Corresponding Member, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Proceeding from a thorough analysis of the current international situation, the 27th CPSU Congress put forward a strategy of building up an all-embracing international security system. Ensuring peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region, which, along with Europe, is a major zone of global confrontation, constitutes an integral part of this strategy. This is why the world public is giving such close study to Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech in which he dwelt in detail on the pressing problems of Asia and the Pacific.

Asia accounts for more than half the world's population. Countries with different socio-political systems varying in standards of economic development, historical backgrounds, and cultural and religious traditions constitute a whole geopolitical complex there. It is no accident that acute conflicts and wars have broken out there so often. An Asian legend, as sad as it is simple, goes that once upon a time two nations which used to fight each other agreed to put an end to wars and to start building a huge tower by which they could reach heaven. They got down to work together and all went well, but as the tower rose heavenwards, their team spirit began to be marred by discord, suspicion and resentment: each side claimed ownership of the tower, and neither would give way. When only the final storey remained to be built, a bloody internecine war broke out again destroying the work of many generations. Since then Mt Everest or Chomo-lungma, our planet's highest peak, has been a silent reproach to quarrelsome mankind.

A Heritage Tenacious of Life

This legend is not without moral and ethical meaning. Over the centuries, the hard-working tribes and peoples of the Asian continent never learned to live in peace with each other as good neighbours. Passionate appeals by outstanding Eastern humanists for mutual understanding and accord came up against a wall of chauvinistic and even, not infrequently, racial prejudice. The powers that be fanned this feud on the "divide and rule" principle, which suited their selfish interests. This principle underlay, over four centuries, the "colonial Bastille" of which Asia was the largest stronghold. It was from Asia that foreign enslavers drew fabulous wealth. The anti-colonial feelings, that meanwhile built up there made themselves felt with unprecedented force in this century. "Asia has awakened to a new life in the 20th century," Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, "and enriched the world process with a varied and distinctive experience of the struggle for freedom and independence."

The Asian peoples can take pride in the fact that, supported by the great force of revolutionary solidarity in our epoch, they were the first to rise to the struggle for the abolition of the colonial system.

By now colonialism has been shattered, but its heritage is extremely tenacious. It manifests itself in a variety of forms. "The insult inflicted by colonialism upon the dignity of the peoples, the heritage of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, plus deep-rooted prejudice," the Soviet leader said, "remain breeding grounds for international mistrust and hostility among peoples, including those living within the confines of the same state. Imperialism trades on difficulties and on survivals from the past with the result that local conflicts, ethnic and religious internecine confrontations flare up, and political instability ensues."

Indeed, Asia was the arena of the postwar period's biggest and fiercest armed conflicts—those in Korea and Vietnam. Today most of the dangerous flash points of tension are still concentrated in that continent.

The modern political map of the Asian-Pacific region is remarkable for its extraordinary patchiness. Along with large powers, there are dozens of tiny states, each with a tenor of life and a social system of its own. However different, the countries of the region are now facing the vital task of learning the art of living together in peace, as good neighbours should. There is no reasonable alternative in this nuclear age of ours when mankind's very existence is at stake. This is realized most fully, perhaps, by the peoples of Asia—the only continent which has gone through the horror of American atomic bombings.

As an Orientalist, I have travelled far and wide in Asia and in the Pacific region and visited research and cultural centres of world importance. Such centres abound there, but Asia and Oceania remain extremely poor and backward nevertheless. In many countries products of the modern scientific and technological revolution coexist with archaic work techniques and implements. It is no fault of theirs that the Asian and Pacific countries lag so far behind the industrialized world. They were enslaved and plundered over decades and even centuries by foreign colonialists who deliberately impeded their progress.

All Stand to Gain

There are more than 40 states in the Pacific. They possess unique natural resources. Nevertheless, only a few Pacific countries—the so-called newly industrializing ones—have made tangible economic progress (leaving aside such states as the U.S., Japan and Australia). The rest, where most of the region's population is concentrated, are still to find their place in the system of world trade and the division of labour. Until they have done so they will be unable to achieve economic independence and solve their pressing social and cultural problems.

In his Vladivostok speech Mikhail Gorbachev set forth a number of entirely

"We Are Greatly Honoured"

TAKESHI ARAKI,
Mayor of Hiroshima

On the eve of the first anniversary of the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear tests and the 41st anniversary of the U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima, TAKESHI ARAKI, the mayor of that city, granted an interview to Yuri Tavrovsky, New Times correspondent in Japan.

"The Soviet Union's decision to stop nuclear testing as of August 6 last year and also the American-Soviet summit meeting in November kindled a ray of hope for progress towards disarmament," Takeshi Araki said. "However, the negotiations on nuclear disarmament are going far more slowly than was expected. Meanwhile, the arsenals of monstrous means of mass annihilation are rapidly growing, and nuclear strategy is already reaching to outer space. This increases the deadly danger threatening mankind. It seems to me that the most important thing at present is that the inhumanity of the nuclear weapon, the terrible tragedy of Hiroshima should be brought home to the hearts and minds of all people on our planet, to every single man and woman so that they might exert maximum effort to rid the earth of nuclear weapons and make peace secure.

"This year—the International Year of Peace—is an auspicious time to give thought to the priceless value of peace, of every human life. To prevent a repetition of the tragedy of Hiroshima the barriers of different ideologies must be overcome and world public opinion rallied in support of the total elimination of nuclear weapons for the sake of everlasting peace.

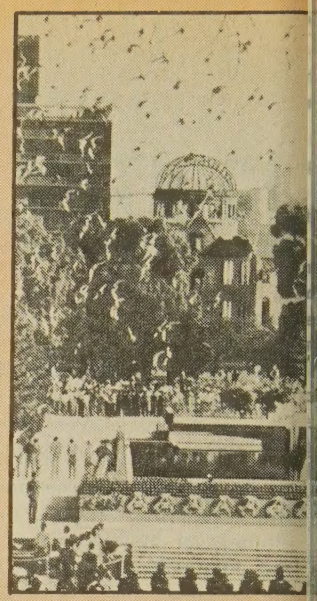
"Today it is perfectly clear that if a nuclear war should break out there would be neither victors nor vanquished, the whole world with all its inhabitants would perish. We who have experienced the horrors of war must urge people the world over to work indefatigably for survival, not annihilation. We must launch a worldwide movement for the establishment of a reliable peace, for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

"Hopes of defeating the opponent by using nuclear weapons are senseless, for in modern conditions this is impossible. But to destroy all life on earth with this terrible weapon is indeed possible. Surely, then, it is clear that nuclear bombs diminish rather than increase the security of their possessors. We all dwell on this one planet, the Earth, and if we cannot coexist peacefully on it we doom ourselves to destruction. I believe distrust and confrontation must be rooted out without delay. The time has come to impart real strength to the policy of peace and friendship.

"The nuclear powers must ponder more deeply on their responsibility for the fate of humanity. They must concentrate efforts on the immediate and total prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, they must remember that tests serve to replenish arsenals. A responsible approach is one that calls for complete abolition of nuclear armaments. I have hopes for the speedy holding of talks between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., the biggest nuclear powers. Their leade are simply in duty bound t reach concrete agreement o nuclear disarmament.

"Hiroshima has alread been named as a possibl venue for a U.S.-Soviet sum mit meeting. Now CPSU Gen eral Secretary Mikhail Gor bachev has proposed holdin an Asian-Pacific conferenc on security and cooperatio in our city. We consider it great honour for our city."

Tokyo



Memorial ceremony in Hir shima on August 6.

TASS phot

new ideas pertaining to international security, peaceful international cooperation and Soviet assistance to the Asian-Pacific region in its development. In their comments on this speech, the papers of Asian and Pacific countries note the scale and realism of these ideas, and stress that the Soviet Union claims no special position in the region and has no intention of strengthening its security at the expense of others. At the same time they speak highly of the Soviet Union's clear realization of contemporary realities, the vital need to build up new and just international relations by the joint efforts of all the countries concerned. Attention is called to the constructive Soviet proposals for the further development of mutually beneficial links with all the countries in the region—the U.S., Japan and China in particular.

The U.S.S.R. confirms its desire to strengthen peace and promote good-neighbourliness by concrete actions: it has proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapon tests, is pulling six regiments of its limited troop contingent out of Afghanistan, and is negotiating the withdrawal of a substantial proportion of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Soviet Union has always taken a comprehensive approach to the problem of Asian and Pacific security. This is why the U.S.S.R. suggests—along with a reduction in the level of military confrontation—large-scale international cooperation in all spheres, especially the economic sphere. The Asian part of the U.S.S.R. is rich in natural resources. Its bituminous coal resources, for instance, amount to trillions of tons. We are developing the latest techniques of processing it into liquid fuels, large amounts of which could be exported, in the long term, to countries poor in energy-generating minerals. We are prepared to set up mixed companies which could help deepen our cooperation with, say, Japan—and with other countries too.

While supplying ever more industrial equipment to the region's developing countries, the U.S.S.R. could increase the purchases of their export products considerably. The record of Soviet-Indian trade provides graphic evidence of how effective such cooperation is.

Asia and Oceania Can Have a Helsinki of Their Own

The experience of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation accumulated to date shows that all countries without

exception stand to gain from joint efforts to remove mistrust and achieve understanding and accord.

Whether a new world war, suicidal to mankind, ever happens or is ruled out depends, in the final analysis, on the character of these relations.

Just how tangible the danger hanging over the Asian and Pacific countries is can be judged from the following statistics. The U.S. war fleets operating in Pacific waters carry more than 2,000 items of nuclear weapons. Nearly a thousand American nuclear warheads are deployed in South Korean territory. American warships with nuclear weapons on board systematically call at Japanese ports. The world press reports the likelihood of several states—including South Korea, Pakistan, Israel and others—getting hold of nuclear weapons in the near future.

The wait-and-see policy won't do in our troubled times which insistently call for dynamic action and a practical quest for things that draw the countries closer together rather than divide them, as it is only by means of a global effort that life on earth can be saved.

Take, for instance, the problem of nuclear disarmament which, without a doubt, underlies the mechanism of Asian security. There ought to be no room for nuclear and chemical weapons on European and Asian soil—this is a cardinal principle of the Soviet concept of universal international security put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. As applied to the Asian-Pacific region this concept was outlined in detail in the Soviet government statement of April 23, 1986, which indicated the specific ways of confidence building and means of getting effective cooperation under way. The Soviet Union's position has much in common with that of the People's Republic of China, which has proclaimed the banning and elimination of nuclear weapons an objective of its foreign policy strategy. Moreover, China has called upon all the nuclear powers to pledge themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons (following the example of the Soviet Union and China itself), not to orbit strategic weapons, and has suggested that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. should reduce their nuclear arms substantially with a view to creating conditions for the holding of an international nuclear disarmament conference.

India, the great non-aligned power, has put forward many constructive ideas to relax international tension. It is actively working for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and making it a denuclearized zone of peace.

Japan's three non-nuclear principles (not to deploy, not to produce and not to bring in nuclear weapons) and Pyongyang's proposal to set up a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula are of obvious practical value. Important initiatives in this field are coming from Vietnam, Mongolia, Indonesia and other countries of the region. All this sets the stage for a Helsinki-type Pacific conference to be held eventually, with all the countries of the region taking part.

The situation in Europe on the eve of the Helsinki Conference differed substantially, of course, from the current situation in Asia and the Pacific region. To a certain extent, the situation in Asia is much more complex than that in Europe, but there is no cause for pessimism. Europe's experience has shown, however, that where there is good will there is always a way to resolve the most difficult international issues. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that for all its problems, Asia has something which Europe lacked. For instance, many Asian countries are active in the non-aligned movement, one of the underlying principles of which is peaceful coexistence. The non-aligned movement has passed the test of time, and is playing an important positive role in the world arena.

At the international meetings of scientists and public figures I happened to attend I often heard delegates say, when the discussion turned to Asia, that the realization of the idea of a world without nuclear weapons should start in Europe. There is no denying the fact that the European continent is a scene of dangerous confrontation between two military-political groupings, and that substantial NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces are concentrated there. But is this really an argument for Europe taking precedence over other parts of the world in the matter of nuclear disarmament? I don't think so. Any region, and even any individual state is entitled to any anti-nuclear initiative. In August 1985, for instance, thirteen South Pacific countries signed in Avarua (the Cook Islands) a treaty forbidding for all time the deployment, production and testing of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific.

Asia, which has done so much from the earliest times for the progress of human civilization, is now called upon to facilitate the advance towards a world without wars and bloodshed, without atomic and other monstrous weapons of annihilation. The Soviet Union's initiatives put forward in Vladivostok are an invaluable prerequisite for making such a world a reality.

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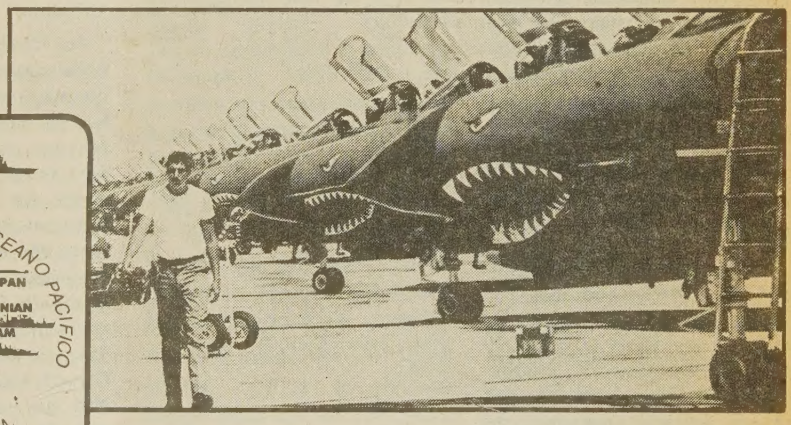


The U.S. military bases in the area of the Indian and Pacific oceans (see the map) present a threat to peace in the Asian and Pacific region. Above is a view of an airfield in the Philippines where American Phantom aircraft are stationed.

Map from Panorama (Italy), photo from U.S. News and World Report

Vitally Important Aims

On August 11 Mikhail Gorbachev met with Tetsuzo Fuwa, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan. The talk centred on the two parties' effort to prevent nuclear war and achieve a complete ban on, and the elimination of, nuclear weapons. The CPSU and the CPJ attach prime importance to this problem.

Current world developments corroborate the importance and viability of the joint CPSU-CPJ statement adopted in December 1984. At that time the two parties proclaimed that they would make every effort for the earliest possible conclusion and implementation of the agreement on a complete ban on, and the elimination of, nuclear weapons.

In pursuance of this objective the CPSU and the CPJ voiced their determination to make every effort to have all the nuclear powers pledge themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to work for an international agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons, for preventing the militarization of outer space, especially a nuclear arms race in space, for an agreement on a complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests, for the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states, and for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of Asia and other continents.

The Soviet Union has contributed much towards the realization of this programme by putting forward a comprehensive programme to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, opposing the spread of the arms race to outer space, and supporting the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in all parts of the world. The moratorium on all nuclear weapon tests is of special importance. The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate the complete abolition of nuclear weapons with other nuclear powers.

Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that our country's approach to the solution of these pressing problems consists in the struggle to end the arms race and confrontation, and achieve a change from confrontation to wide-scale international cooperation based on the recognition of the legitimate interests and rights of all peoples. This approach underlies all the U.S.S.R.'s peace initiatives.

Japanese Communists are waging a determined struggle against nuclear weapons by insisting on the abolition of American nuclear bases, mounting a nationwide movement to make prefectures, cities and other population centres nuclear-free zones, and demanding a strict observance of the three non-nuclear principles and of the peace provisions of the Constitution.

The CPSU and the CPJ expressed their determination to achieve these objectives of vital importance for all mankind.

ZIMBABWE

Rebuff to Racists

The President of Zimbabwe discussed the issue of sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa and their consequences for the country's economy. The issue was raised by deputies of the Zimbabwe Conservative Alliance headed by the notorious Ian Smith. They are consonant with the stand of Britain which says that sanctions against Pretoria spell disaster for Zimbabwe and are tantamount to economic suicide.

This line is being taken up by opponents of sanctions in the U.S. and Britain. One would think that the fate of Zimbabwe and other frontline states has become the prime concern of those who, just seven years ago, did their worst to suppress the Zimbabwean patriots' fight for independence and preserve white majority rule.

The problem of sanctions was a subject of bitter debate at the conference of seven Commonwealth countries in London. Despite the resistance of the British Conservative government, a programme of economic opposition to South Africa was adopted, and is to take effect late this year.

For Zimbabwe taking sanctions against South Africa is no easy matter. The country has no outlet to the sea. The railway to the Mozambique port of Beira has been damaged by the Mozambique National Resistance for some time. More than 90 per cent of export and import trade goes via South Africa. Pretoria is threatening to block access to its ports if international sanctions are applied, and this would mean tremendous damage to Zimbabwe's economy. Nevertheless, the government of the republic is demanding the complete isolation of the Pretoria racist regime.

Eddison Zvobgo, a deputy of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF), gave a resolute rebuff to the agents of the racialists. The cheap propaganda show staged by Smith's party, he stressed, shows that it is an agent of Pretoria along with the U.S., Britain and the F.R.G.

Robert Mugabe told a press conference that his country was prepared to fulfil the programme of sanctions adopted in London and, in line with these, to ban all foreign flights to South Africa through Zimbabwean air space.

U.S.S.R.—CYPRUS

"We Are Optimists"

We have come here to see how the Soviet people live, how they are tackling the ambitious tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress, and how they are dealing with the problems that confront them, said Antonis Lazarou, secretary of the youth department of the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour of Larnaca and Famagusta, who

This courageous stance has won Zimbabwe profound respect as evidenced by the decision to make Harare the venue for the 8th conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned movement to open late this August. The choice of Harare was made to demonstrate the solidarity of the non-aligned movement with the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the frontline states.

In the run-up to the conference, the enemies of Zimbabwe have become remarkably active. While the U.S. Administration, seeking to bring about a change in Zimbabwe's policy, is resorting to economic blackmail, the South African racist regime is organizing, besides economic sanctions, armed attacks on the young republic.

To an ever greater extent the current situation in the south of Africa demands for joint action on the part of the frontline states for the expansion and modernization of their transport system. For Zimbabwe this problem is of

led a large delegation of Cypriot trade unionists to the Soviet Union.

The Cypriot trade unionists were accorded a hearty welcome by the working people of Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Yerevan, Kishinev and Rostov-on-Don. The guests were acquainted with the main areas of activity of Soviet trade unions, their role and tasks at the present stage in the development of Soviet society. But, of course, the talk centred on a subject of immediate concern to millions—ways of staving off nuclear war.

Fighting for peace on our island, enmeshed as it is with British bases and turned into an unsinkable aircraft-carrier for imperialism, is no easy matter, Antonis Lazarou stressed. But our effort is an inseparable part of the overall peace movement led by the Soviet Union. We are optimists, we believe that in our country, and in the rest of the world, the forces advocating social progress and universal prosperity will prevail.

K. ISAKOV

Antonis Lazarou [fourth from left] with Cypriot trade unionists during their visit to Moscow.

Photo by V. Panov

vital importance, and, as its government points out, it is going to take every measure to protect the railway connecting it with the port of Beira. Pretoria's aggressive policy makes it imperative to form inter-African forces capable of giving a joint rebuff to the racist aggressors.

Y. PICHUGIN
TASS correspondent for New Times

Harare

JAMAICA

Shattered Show Window

Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica has postponed municipal elections three times. The first election was to have taken place in 1984. And now at last....

The forebodings caused by the joyless results of public opinion polls did not deceive the premier. The Labour Party, which he heads, suffered a defeat, with 57 per cent of the vote going to the main opposition force—the People's National Party. Its leader, Michael Manley, came out on top in 10 out of Jamaica's 14 constituencies.

May we remind the reader that Seaga took office in that English-speaking Caribbean island in 1980 with the support of Washington, which inspired the campaign to "destabilize" the Manley government. The new premier took a markedly pro-American line. On U.S. instructions, he severed diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1981. In 1983, Jamaica aided and abetted the invasion of Grenada.

Washington told Seaga to make Jamaica a sort of a glittering Caribbean "showcase," a model of the "free market economy" and the "open door" economy. The door was flung open all right, but foreign capital was in no hurry to pour into the Jamaican economy. Moreover, with the fall of bauxite prices on the world market, U.S. monopolies in control of this most important branch of the economy, found it expedient to close down some of the island's biggest mines.

Labour has not got much to show for its economic policy. In 1985 inflation ran at 25 per cent. Over the last three years the prices of staple foods, fuels and municipal services have more than doubled. Power and water cuts in cities and settlements are common. Unemployment affects 30 per cent of the total workforce. Jamaica's foreign debt ranges, at various estimates, from $3.5 to $4 billion. In per capita terms, Jamaica is one of the most heavily indebted countries in the developing world. Over 40 per cent of its national budget goes for repaying debt and interests on it. A substantial proportion of the budget is devoured by the army and forces of law and order, leaving a mere pittance for social programmes.

Last March the country was swept by massive demonstrations of protest against rising prices and unemployment.

The result of the current elections in Jamaica did not come as a surprise to observers. The defeat of the Seaga party had been expected. The People's National Party won a majority vote in most parts of the country, which shows that Jamaicans appreciated the Manley's progressive socio-economic changes and his agrarian reform. It should be recalled that this government established the first agricultural cooperatives, set a guaranteed wage minimum, reduced unemployment, and checked the rise in prices.

The voting returns gave the opposition leader Michael Manley every grounds to call for an early parliamentary election, which he has now done. According to the Constitution, the election is to be held in 1988.

Trevor Munroe, general secretary of the Labour Party, told a New Times reporter that if the current trend persists the People's National Party will undoubtedly win the general election. The municipal elections developed into a national referendum on the people's attitude to the Seaga administration. This referendum has shown that the government's social following has dwindled sharply and that its outlook for the future is poor.

V. CHIRKOV

August 21 is the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay

Tested by Time

ANATOLY MEDVEDENKO

By the mid-20s of this century recognition of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, was proceeding apace. The decision by one or another capitalist country to send its ambassador to the U.S.S.R. was no longer a sensation. Nevertheless, even in this situation the report that on August 21-22, 1926, the heads of the foreign policy departments of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, A. Saralegui and Maxim Litvinov, had exchanged notes on the establishment of official relations between their two countries attracted no little attention. Uruguay was the first country in South America (and the second, after Mexico, on the American continent as a whole) to recognize the Soviet Union.

The Uruguayans had been sounding out the ground to this end for some time. In October 1924 Litvinov had received a letter from the Soviet chargé d'affairs in Germany mentioning that "the Uruguayan envoy here has been very friendly towards us since 1921 and misses no opportunity to assure us that he is persuading his government to form diplomatic relations with us, etc. Uruguay is particularly interested in our timber."

In all likelihood there was a more important reason for this interest. The fact is that broad sections of the Uruguayan population had voiced support for the Soviet state from its very inception. A good many Europeans had settled in that country, among them Russians who had been forced to flee their homeland either because of persecution by the tsarist authorities or in search of a better life. Evidence of the attitude of ordinary Uruguayans towards the young Soviet republic were the numerous demonstrations of solidarity in Montevideo and other cities. Likewise indicative was the triumphal reception the Uruguayans accorded in 1925 the crew of the Vatslav Vorovsky, the first Soviet ship to visit an Uruguayan port.

During the exchange of notes with his Uruguayan opposite number, Maxim Litvinov expressed the firm confidence that the establishment of diplomatic relations "would be an earnest of the strengthening and further development of mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two countries."

Time has confirmed this prediction. Many Soviet-Uruguayan contacts were formed in the prewar period. For instance, deliveries of Soviet oil fully supplied the first Uruguayan state oil refinery and helped to strengthen the public sector of the national economy. In the subsequent period the U.S.S.R. supplied the Uruguayans with machine tools and equipment in return for traditional Uruguayan exports—leather, meat and wool.

Trade between the two countries developed in conditions of complete equality and mutual benefit. In this connection I recall a talk I had with the Uruguayan economist Sergio Ramirez during my last trip to Montevideo. I asked how it came about that Uruguay, with its rich economic potential, could be in debt. All the more so since Uruguay itself had once been a creditor country and one of its debtors—difficult though it is to believe today—was Britain.

"The chief reason lies in what is known as the 'equal partnership' with the U.S. and how it has worked out for us Latin Americans," he replied, handing me a copy of the magazine Opinar and pointing to a dispatch from Washington underlined in red pencil. The U.S., it said, had unilaterally, without even discussing it with Montevideo, cut its purchases of Uruguayan textiles by 30 per cent.

"That is only one manifestation of 'equal partnership,'" Ramirez observed. "That is the third time this year that the U.S. has refused to buy our output, despite preliminary understandings and agreements. Each such arbitrary decision leaves us millions of dollars short and increases unemployment."

"What reasons do they give for these actions?" Ramirez echoed my question. "The craziest. Washington may suddenly take a dislike to some political decision of ours, or else the White House decides that this particular move serves the U.S. interests best at the given moment. How much we lose by it doesn't concern them in the least. What a contrast to our economic relations with the Soviet Union! I don't remember a single instance of deliveries being cancelled or some agreement not being carried out through the fault of the Soviet side. I would say that Soviet-Uruguayan trade ties are exemplary. One could only wish for such ties with other countries as well."

I must admit this was very pleasant to hear. There has been notable progress also in the sphere of cultural exchanges. We have come to know each other better in these years. Leading Uruguayan prose writers and poets like Mario Benedetti, Juan Carlos Onetti, Alfredo Gravina are published today in the Soviet Union. The famous Galpon theatre, which is perhaps the best in Latin America, has delighted Soviet theatregoers.

For their part, the Uruguayans are learning more and more about the Soviet Union. Translations of the works of Alexander Fadeyev and Alexei Tolstoy, Leonid Leonov and Ilya Ehrenburg, not to speak of Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, have helped them to gain a better understanding of our country and our people. Montevideo, Artigas and other cities gave a

THE EASTERN REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY

A country in the eastern part of South America on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. It is 186,900 sq. km. in area and has a population of about three million, mainly of European stock (Spaniards, Italians and Portuguese). The indigenous population—Indians—were wiped out when the Spanish conquistadors landed in the early 16th century on what is now the territory of Uruguay. The official language is Spanish.

The independence of this former Spanish colony was proclaimed on August 25, 1825.

Uruguay is an agrarian-industrial country with a developed livestock farming. The leading role in industry is played by food (meat-packing and meat canning) and textiles.

Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, located on the left bank of La Plata, is the country's main seaport and transportation hub.

Lehtikuva—TASS photos

rapturous reception to the renowned Bolshoi Theatre company, the Beryozka dancers and the Soviet circus. It will be remembered that one of the first foreign tours by Soviet theatre companies was to Uruguay—in 1930 the Moscow Kamerny Theatre headed by Alexander Tairov gave performances in that country.

Ups and Downs

All has not been plain sailing in Soviet-Uruguayan relations in the past sixty years. There have been ups and downs owing to the machinations of domestic and international reaction. Nevertheless, what is clearly to be discerned is that whatever has been positive in these contacts has invariably coincided with the happier periods in the political history of Uruguay.

Here are some examples. In 1926, when the negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries were in progress, the Uruguayan government was opposed to the domination of North American capital in the country. Moreover, it made considerable headway in this respect, thanks in no small measure to cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In the 1930s President Gabriel Terra who pursued an anti-national policy, assumed power. One of his most unpopular decisions, taken on the advice of the United States, was the severing in December 1935 of relations with the Soviet Union.

In 1943 the political situation changed for the better and diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. were restored.

But after the reactionary military took over in 1973, Uruguay, which had always been proud of its democratic traditions, became one vast concentration camp for its three million inhabitants. The writer Mario Benedetti observed with bitter irony: "The small state of Uruguay has been turned into a great torture power." In this period ties with the U.S.S.R. fell victim to the right-wing military's doctrine of "national security."

But even in the worst years the attitude of ordinary Uruguayans to our country remained warm and friendly. Their sympathy and sincere interest in Soviet people was the most vivid impression I carried away with me from my last visit to that country.

At that time Uruguay was at the crossroads, so to speak. The military were still at the helm but for all practical purposes did not run the country. The political parties, though they appeared to have gained real power, had not yet been legalized. The fear instilled by the dictator-generals for eleven years still lingered. Most Uruguayans, however, were not afraid to display friendly feelings for our country. This was especially true of the young people. And that is very important, because a good part of their lives had been spent at the time when society was spiritually castrated, as it were. Persecution was the lot of everyone with talent, of all who did not conform to the fossilized outlook of the reactionary generals. Books by progressive authors were banned, democratic newspapers and journals were closed, many radio and TV programmes, plays and films were suppressed. For a decade the Uruguayans had been brainwashed in an anti-communist, anti-Soviet spirit.

Yet I myself saw young people come to the Soviet embassy, first singly and then in large groups. They asked for something to read about the Soviet Union, or at least to hear someone talk about it.

All this shows that there is perhaps no force that can drown out the truth about the U.S.S.R., that can prevent the people of Uruguay (and not only Uruguay) being interested in the first socialist country in the world.

New Chapter in Bilateral Relations

March 1, 1985, saw the dawn of a new period in the life of Uruguay. A civil government came to power. On his inauguration, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, leader of the Colorado Party which won the election of November 25, 1984, proclaimed a broad programme of social and economic reforms which provided also for the democratization of foreign policy. Newsmen drew attention to that part of Sanguinetti's speech in which he stressed his intention to cooperate with all countries irrespective of their ideological positions. They also noted the fact that even before the inauguration ceremony both President Sanguinetti and Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias had repeatedly emphasized their intention to expand commercial and economic ties with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, believing this would diversify the market for Uruguayan products and help the

country out of the economic crisis. President Sanguinetti spoke of Uruguay's desire to develop contacts with the U.S.S.R. also during his meeting with the Soviet delegation which attended the ceremony of his inauguration as President.

The visit to the U.S.S.R. of Uruguayan Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias in July was the first by a head of the Uruguayan foreign office in the 60 years of our diplomatic relations. The Soviet-Uruguayan talks in Moscow, which proceeded in a friendly business-like atmosphere, recorded the identity of positions on the basic issues of our time. The Uruguayan side showed particular interest in Soviet foreign policy initiatives. Deep concern over the continuing growth of international tension was voiced. Both the Uruguayan and the Soviet sides stressed that in the present complicated situation there was a need for new thinking, taking account of the security of all countries.

Serious concern was also expressed during the talks over the existence and the aggravation of regional conflicts and the negative effect this is having on the situation in the world at large. This applies in particular to Central America. Both Uruguay and the Soviet Union once again called for the peaceful settlement of conflict situations on the basis of respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Uruguay belongs to the Contadora support group and is doing much to hasten the peaceful solution of the Central American crisis, for the ending of the undeclared war against Nicaragua. This problem, too, naturally figured in the Moscow talks, and the Soviet side noted the positive contribution made by Uruguay to the efforts to normalize the situation in Central America.

The foreign ministers of both countries voiced the conviction that relations between the U.S.S.R. and Uruguay should be developed further, to the benefit of their peoples, in the interests of greater mutual understanding and strengthening peace.

Montevideo—Moscow

Big Business on the Warpath

NIKITA YERMAKOV

The transfer of a substantial part of the public sector of the French economy to private hands has become a pivotal element of the economic policy of the right-wing majority government. It accords with the ideological principles underlying the programme of the present rulers of France. Total freedom of action for private capital, unrestricted play of market forces, and the opening of the most favourable opportunities for the monopolies to pocket superprofits—such is the substance of the Chirac cabinet's strategy.

What specifically is at issue? The main thing is the projected sale of 65 state-owned industrial corporations, insurance companies and banks in the course of the next five years. The list includes such giant concerns as Péchiney, E.L.F.-Aquitaine, Saint-Gobain, Compagnie général d'electricité, Thomson, and Rhône-Poulenc, the principal insurance companies, and 36 banks and financial groups, among them the Société Générale, Crédit Lyonnais, and Banque Nationale Populaire which have been public property since the end of the war.

The banks to be denationalized make up 80 per cent and the insurance companies, 30 per cent of their respective sectors. The enterprises scheduled to be privatized account for 15 per cent of the total employed labour force and produce 25 per cent of the country's export output. The investments in them amount to 35 per cent of the total. Experts estimate that the purchase of all this will cost 200 to 300 billion francs.

Privatization has raised a number of questions that have sparked off heated debates which often erupt into open political collisions, primarily between the two main blocs searching for the most rational and effective ways of modernizing French capitalism—the right-wing parties and the Socialists. Both blocs, the journal Economie et Politique comments, are observing the capitalist rules of the game, but inasmuch as they depend for support on different social strata they are at variance when it comes to choosing concrete methods of running the country.

The French Socialist Party, which headed the government in 1981-86, showed how in its opinion the country's economic problems should be resolved. When they carried out the nationalization in 1982, the Socialists placed the emphasis on the financial profitability of the publicly-owned companies which they sought to equate with economic efficiency. The consequences, however, were deplorable. Production both for the domestic market and for export declined, as did investment in production. What increased was investment and financial speculation abroad.

In these circumstances the need for finances steadily increased, while the state made fewer and fewer resources available. On the other hand, the budget deficit and the state debt increased as a result of the diminishing of revenue owing to the winding up of "unprofitable" industries and to the financial growth of the corporations to the detriment of employment and the purchasing power of the population. In 1983 the Socialists took the first steps towards denationalization. They addressed frequent appeals to private capital to invest and buy stock. Investment and stock certificates running to six billion francs were issued early this year alone.

When the right-wing majority government took over in March this year, it set out to accelerate the process. Having battened on the lavish compensation paid by the Socialists for the nationalized banks and firms, as well as on stock market speculation and the austerity regime, the monied interests had amassed enormous wealth. Now they are out to take over state-owned enterprises, capitalizing on the recent lifting of control over foreign exchange operations, the devaluation of the franc, and the reduction of taxes on profits.

Many economists hold that denation-

alization will not make for any increase in production and employment. Huge sums of money will be channelled to the purchase of state enterprises, banks and firms, but not to finance production, to create jobs, or for new investments and scientific and technological research. Entire sectors of production considered "unprofitable" will be closed down and one in every four employed will lose their jobs. The penetration of U.S. and West German transnational corporations, which have long been yearning for a bigger slice of the national pie, will be stepped up.

From all appearances, the Socialist Party and the Elysée Palace are well aware of the dangers threatening the economy. The conflict which flared up in July between President Mitterrand and the right-wing government is highly indicative. The Chirac cabinet is criticized, firstly, for its approach to the evaluation of the public property up for sale, and, secondly, for the absence of guarantees that the national interests will be protected and barriers raised to foreign capital in the process of denationalization. The newspaper Libération estimates that 25 per cent of the country's industrial output and 27.8 per cent of its exports are already being produced at French factories belonging to foreign transnationals.

The Socialist members of the French parliament of course denounce the privatization policy and warn against the sale of national property. But they prefer to forget that when they were in power only a short time ago they themselves were the first to give in to monopoly pressure.

A firm stand has been taken by the Communists, by the leading trade union centre, the General Confederation of Labour, and by other progressive forces. In the nationalization introduced in 1982 they saw primarily an avenue leading to the modernization of production, the creation of additional jobs, and the solution of the problem of unemployment. They sharply criticized the Socialist Party government for the fact that the law on democratization of enterprises remained on paper.

Now the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labour warn that denationalization will lead to the unlimited domination of private capital. In professing to ensure the competitive capacity of French industry, the right-wing majority pins its hopes primarily on lower wages than in the F.R.G. or the United States. But this holds out the threat of a further weakening of France's economy inasmuch as it would narrow down the domestic market and reduce the purchasing power of the working people. The moneybags would be able to an even greater extent than those of the F.R.G. to invest their holdings on the financial markets without risk.

Soundings conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies confirm that the captains of French industry intend to reduce their investments this year. As a result, the economic growth rate will be far below the level France's chief competitors expect to register. The income accruing from economizing on the import of oil will be mainly channelled to the elimination of unprofitable branches, the financing of the denationalization, and export of capital.

E.L.F.-Aquitaine, the biggest industrial group in the country, reflects all these problems as in a mirror. Its turnover last year was 180.7 billion francs. It controls some 350 firms and plays an important part in ensuring the country's self-sufficiency in energy. It owns the biggest petrochemical concern in France and occupies a leading place in the development of new technology in biochemistry and the creation of new materials. Its subsidiary SNEA brings in enough export earnings to cover one third of the cost of the import of oil.

In recent years E.L.F.-Aquitaine, like other groups in the state sector, concentrated above all on maximum profitability. This resulted in the abolition in 1983-85 of 3,000 jobs, a decline in investment in production, a 5-6 per cent reduction in the turnover of the firm, and a drop in the real earnings of its personnel by roughly a month's wages annually.

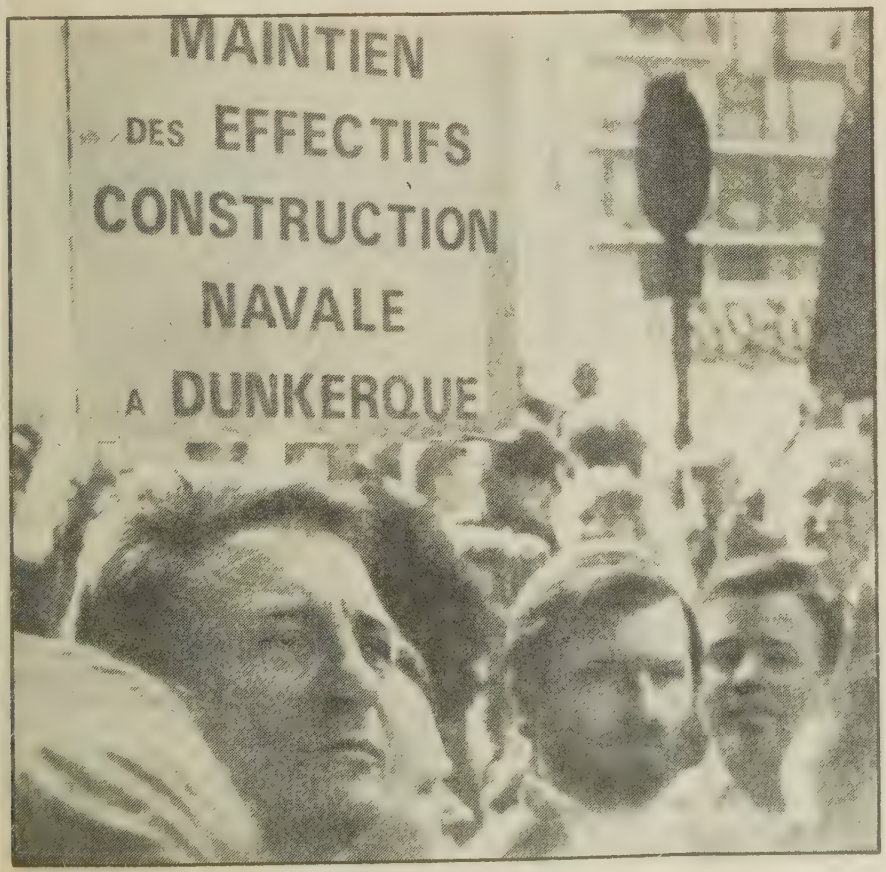
Now it is proposed to denationalize the entire group. The trade unions, however, hold that this will not resolve its problems. Transition to private hands will not increase investment in production; it will merely give added impetus to stock market speculation. Particular concern is caused by the expected sale abroad of a substantial part of the E.L.F.-Aquitaine stock, which would be a blow to the entire industrial potential of France and its ties with developing countries.

Addressing the National Assembly recently Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, declared on behalf of the communist parliamentary group: "The French people are in need of genuine mutual aid in order jointly to resolve their problems, to increase resources for the improvement of their life... to prevent the squandering of resources." These words are the keynote of the struggle the French Communist Party is waging together with the trade unions for the truly democratic development and independence of France.

Paris

Dunkerque shipbuilders protest against layoffs.

Photo from L'Humanité (France)



In August 1945 the Soviet Army's victorious offensive in the Far East brought liberation to Korea and with it the dawn of a new life

A Land Reborn

Present-day Pyongyang is situated on the hilly banks of the deep Taedongan River. It is impressive for the clear-cut lines of its streets, its broad squares and imposing architecture. Multi-storey buildings tower not only over Chollima Avenue—the city's main thoroughfare, but also in other parts of the city to form a coherent architectural whole.

The majestic People's Palace of Education, the splendid Grand Theatre, the harmonious Kim Il Sung Square and the 48-storey Koryo Hotel on Chhangwan Avenue impart a unique character to the architecture of the new Pyongyang. This perhaps particularly applies to the Friendship of the Peoples Exhibition buildings on Myohiang Hill, whose buildings fit in well with the numerous old pagodas and waterfalls cascading down the slopes like rolls of silvery silk.

Architectural monuments, those small poems in stone, such as Taedonmun Gate, the Chonrue Pavilion and the seven-tier pagoda of Hangbok Temple have been carefully preserved among the new buildings. The most striking feature of the bold modern architecture is the traditional caved-in, overlapping, steeply sloping roofs whose edges are slightly raised like the wings of a flushing bird.

Between 1950 and 1953 the barbaric raids of U.S. "flying fortresses" reduced Pyongyang to a heap of ashes. The enemies of people's Korea said a hundred years would not be enough to rebuild the capital. But Pyongyang has been rebuilt. It has grown into a beautiful modern city with a population of nearly a million and a half.

"Always in a Pair..."

Korean highways wind through low green hills, emerald rivers and villages with peasant houses with the traditional caved-in roofs.

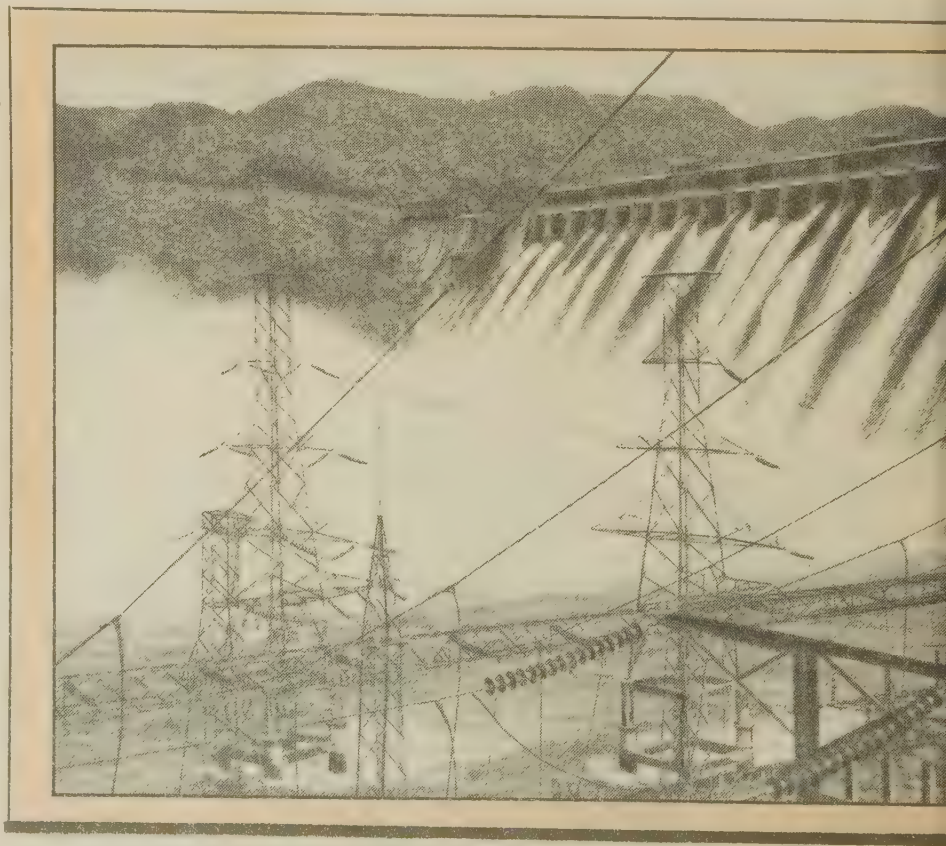
The Korean countryside does not overwhelm you with boundless expanses, high mountain peaks or tantalizing expanses of open territory. On the contrary, it gives you a feeling of cosiness; it is full of inner charm. It seems that the entire country—from the narrow plains to the rounded hill slopes and the confined water meadows on the rivers—has been cultivated, created by man's industrious hands and warmed by his soul.

For several hours our car had been speeding along an excellent highway southward from Pyongyang to Kaesong, to the 38th Parallel that has split a single country. And all the time we had seen the bright green squares of well-dressed rice paddies, pear orchards and dense maize and soybean plantations, as well as plantations of ginseng —this life-giving root that flourishes in the shade is protected by thatched roofs from the sun.

The charm of mild, domesticated nature prevails everywhere. Even the famous Pagyong Falls which gave rise to the legend of the fatal love of Pak, a young shepherd, for the Korean Nymph, the Water King's daughter, appeared tame, and not at all formidable, at close range. Like a millstone, the mountain has ground the stream, the sun haloed its boiling foam with a rainbow and the forest muffled the dull rumble of the racing water.... This gives you an insight into the keen interest shown by the Russian poetess Anna Akhmatova in the Korean ideal of beauty—the fusion of man and nature. Towards the end of her life she skilfully translated many masterpieces of Korean classical poetry, a hymn to the diligence of the "Land of Morning Calm," the happy unity of green mountains, variegated streams and man. She translated (into Russian) a poem by Chon Chol, a 16th-century classic:

On the motley brightness of flowers
There are two butterflies always
in a pair;
In the green of weeping willows
There are two orioles always
in a pair.
All life is always in a pair....

"All life is always in a pair...." The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a country with well-developed mining and engineering industries. The



pumping stations skilfully buried in the ground at the foot of the mountains to pump the life-giving water to terraces spread higher up embody, in a peculiar way, this happy unity of man and nature. Even the electric railways (representing another victory of the working class of people's Korea) snaking through the mountains and forests from Pyongyang to the north, the south or the Sea of Japan, to Wonsan and Chongjin, seem an organic part of the landscape.

You cannot fail to sympathize with the righteous indignation of the Koreans against the savage U.S. air raids on their towns, cities, villages, forests and fields (when even squirrels sought refuge in people's arms) and with their wrath and grief caused by the present split of a single country.

"All life is always in a pair...." When the present author visited the Union of Writers of the D.P.R.K. the poet O Yong Djee, a native of South Korea who left his mother, sisters and brothers there, recited his translation of Sergei Yesenin's "Letter to My Mother," which had taken his breath away. He added sadly: "When I read this poem, I saw as it were my own home in the South, experienced my mother's anxiety about me. She has had no news from me, just as I have had none from her."

Talent of the Soil

A man's native land not only gives him a home and all that goes with it, but also imposes on him a paramount duty. In Nampho, situated on the Yellow Sea coast a giant dam is being built in the estuary of the Taedongan River to increase the area of the irrigated fields and recultivate the saline soil plain. What again struck me in Nampho, for instance, in the Migok Agricultural Cooperative in Hwanghae-Pukto Province and near the town of Sariwon—was the wise and extremely friendly attitude the Koreans displayed towards the environment.

When our party toured the vast paddy fields, excellent orchard, pig-breeding farms, Palace of Culture and urban-type residential complex at the Migok Agricultural Cooperative, the executives, agronomists and plain workers said that the fertile land (each square metre of which was to produce, according to their calculations, so many plants with so many stems per plant) was no gift of nature. They had had to exercise boundless patience and exert tremendous effort to conquer two seemingly mutually exclusive calamities, which are in fact compatible in a monsoon climate, namely frequent droughts and floods. During the monsoon season the nearby lake would accumulate water to flood the village. Now it has been "split up" and divided between a number of reservoirs and irrigation canals which channel its waters to the fields in the dry valley. The lake has not died or disappeared. The "lake spirits" have no cause to be angry with the people. As the executives of the cooperative showed us the stagnant water drainage facilities, the reinforced embankments, the irrigation arteries—the entire water circulation system—they exultantly said that the lake was alive and breathing and that they had only discovered another talent in their soil.

One cannot help admiring the care and wisdom the Koreans exhibit in the cultivation of ginseng—the famous Korean insam—on lands bordering on Kaesong. A botanical survival that witnessed the Tertiary period takes 30 years to gain its strength before it can give it to the people. In Kaesong District special plots of land have been selected for ginseng plantations. And each plant is shielded with a thatched roof from the scorching rays of the sun, torrential rains and fierce winds.

* * *

The high Mankiongtae Hills overgrown with low but tenacious pines offer a view of the huge buildings of the heavy engineering and power engineering works in Taean, the thoroughly cultivated paddy fields on both banks of the Taedongan River and the skyline of modern Pyongyang. Wherever you look you see evidence of the people's peaceful constructive efforts. In the past the Korean people repeatedly demonstrated their ability to resist any imperialist intrigues. Today they are determined to remove the dangerous tensions burdening the Korean peninsula, to work for security in Asia and further strengthen the traditional friendship with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

V. CHALMAYEV

Pyongyang—Moscow

Cooperation on a Firm Basis

ne Soviet Union and the nocratic People's Republic Korea recently observed 25th anniversary of the aty of Friendship, Coopeon and Mutual Assistance, ch serves as a firm basis ties between the two ntries.

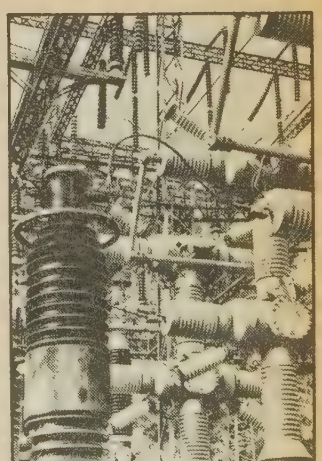
ilateral cooperation has n developing fruitfully in ost all leading branches of economy: electrical ineering, ferrous and nonous metallurgy, the coal, chemical and light industries, and machine building. In the last 25 years alone the Soviet Union has given the republic technical assistance in the construction of about 70 industrial installations, including several power plants, iron and steel and nonferrous metal plants, chemical fertilizer plants, an oil refinery, and a car battery plant.

Soviet-Korean economic cooperation developed considerably between 1981 and 1985, doubling the volume of the previous five-year period. A cold-sheet rolling shop at the Kim Chak steel plant in Chongjin, two large thermal power plants, and several electro-technical and nonferrous metals plants went into operation during this period.

It can be said with justice that the new mills and factories built with Soviet assistance have further strengthened the industrial base of people's Korea.

In the period from 1986 to 1990 and in subsequent years the Soviet Union will help the republic build 19 installations, including its first atomic power plant. This will appreciably help to expand the economic potential of the republic and increase its export potential.

The training of Korean personnel, skilled workers, technicians and engineers is another important field of the Soviet-Korean economic ties. Soviet specialists are passing on their production experience and knowledge to their Korean friends.



The Dzhandzhingan thermal power station.

Photos from the journal Korea and KCNA—TASS

he Supung hydroelectric wer station, restored and anded with Soviet help, pplies electricity to the thern districts of the Dematic People's Republic of ea.

Emerald Thieves

The bloodiest and most despotic chiefs of the counterrevolutionary bands guilty of mass murders, sabotage and plunder were tried in absentia in the course of a few days in Kabul recently. The trial attracted close public attention nationwide. All the accused were sentenced to death.

It was stressed at the trial that the counterrevolutionaries' chieftains committed their crimes under the pretext of "defending Islam," that they styled themselves unselfish "champions of the faith" and "true patriots".... All this talk is nothing new, and few take it seriously in Afghanistan today.

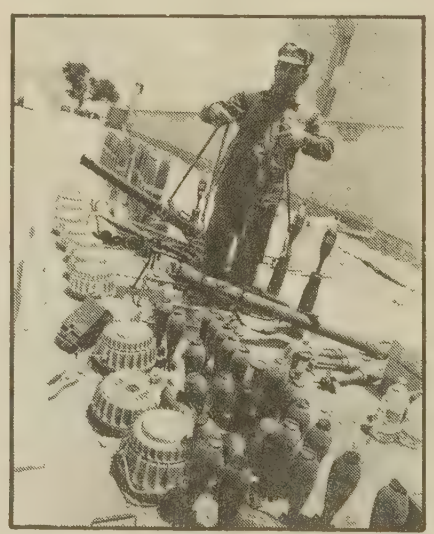
The list of the accused is headed by Ahmed Shah Masud. The story that follows sheds light on just one aspect of the activity this "champion of the faith" is engaged in.

"Five Lions" is the English for Panjshir—the valley, famous in Afghanistan, which Ahmed Shah Masud, the uncrowned princeling of the local counterrevolutionaries, has been trying to wrest from the republic for years. I have been to that majestic mountainous area several times, both on quiet days and during hostilities, without once spotting a lion. Lions are not found in Afghanistan at all. Instead, there are deer in Panjshir. Proud, agile and hardy, they live at altitudes veiled in cloud like eagles.

Whoever you meet in Panjshir is certain to tell you that it is to these graceful mountain dwellers that the credit for the discovery of the Afghan emeralds goes. When I first heard the story and learned that Afghanistan's oldest emerald mine was called the Deer Well, I couldn't help recalling the "Silver Hoof" of "The Malachite Casket," Russian fairy tales by Bazhov, and legends I had heard in Czechoslovakia about the deer's leap to which Karlovy Vary owes its birth.... What follows, however, is neither myth, nor legend, but an eyewitness account.

Seated in front of me was a grey-bearded old man in a warm homespun "chapan"—a robe embroidered in the national style. Although well over 70, Hadja Gulistan was hale and hearty. He flashed a toothy smile at me now and again as he recounted the events of long ago, revealing a youthfully retentive memory. He had spent all his life in Panjshir. In the village of Safedshir the house his father built from slabs of stone towered on a hilltop. Hadja Gulistan himself and his own twelve sons and daughters were born there. Hadja lived by farming and game shooting.

One day, exactly 25 years ago, he shot a deer. Three of them—his two sons and himself—pursued the wounded animal until one of its feet was caught in a cleft. They pulled the deer out and the bright sunlight was sudden-



The security forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have conducted successful operations to mop up a large counterrevolutionary band in Shakardarah. In the course of the operations missiles and artillery, as well as ammunition and mines were captured, some of which are shown above.

TASS photo

ly refracted off the cleft bottom in a dazzling flash of green. They picked up a handful of green pebbles and brought them back to the village along with the deer. What followed was a chain reaction. Hadja Gulistan took his find to a shopkeeper he knew in the district centre of Ruhu who peddled all manner of odds and ends, cheap adornments included. The shopkeeper paid him 7,000 Afghanis—a real fortune for a poor peasant—and, at his earliest opportunity caravanned to Kabul where he fetched 90,000 Afghanis for the pebbles from a jeweller. For his part, the jeweller resold them for five times this sum in Peshawar, Pakistan, one of the East's major jewellery trade centres.

The pebbles found on the steep slopes of the Panjshir valley turned out to be emeralds. The cleft was named the Deer Well.

It was not long before the news of the find reached former royal ministry of the mining industry. A commission was sent to Safedshir.

"The commission members stayed in my house," Hadja Gulistan said. "The West German expert at the ministry, who was with them, had me guide him to the cleft rightaway. He picked out a few pebbles with his penknife, took a lot of pictures and scribbled something in his notebooks, and then covered the cleft up with a piece of special cloth to protect it from rain, snow, sun and wind. In the evening the head of the commission got all the villagers together and told them not to do any digging there. Those who did, he warned, would be fined or jailed. So that was how our Panjshir emeralds were found."

The old regime never succeeded in tapping this wealth. The absence of roads, high altitudes, a dearth of special equipment and skilled miners, the high cost of prospecting and mining—all this scared the royal ministers away. On the other hand, the local people started digging the emeralds out on the sly. Although hacks and spades were all the tools they had, they never came home empty-handed. Green pebbles abound there, not only in the Deer Well proper, but over tens of kilometres around it. Some families even gave up farming and cattle breeding for emerald digging which was easier and far more profitable.

They certainly suffered losses and ran risks. Emerald diggers were mercilessly preyed upon by middlemen. Many of those who set out to Peshawar at their peril never returned home—robbers were lying in wait for them. Hadja Gulistan also decided to try his luck one day and went to Peshawar for the famous international autumn jewellery fair there. He failed to get rich, though. "I was just a babe

in the woods among those smart speculators," he complained.

After the revolution, which had to be defended at several fronts simultaneously, it happened that Ahmed Shah Masud took possession of the emerald deposits. He comes from that part of Afghanistan. His father, a colonel, had given him good education. Masud had studied at Kabul University, in France and in Egypt. This ambitious reactionary did not escape Western special services' notice. He was trained in guerrilla action techniques and put through all kinds of drills. Armed to the teeth, surrounded with cutthroat bodyguards and foreign advisers, he opposed the revolution. A ruthless fanatic, a dangerous and implacable enemy of the republic, he has been terrorizing dozens of Panjshir villages for years. In the numerous interviews he gives to Western newsmen, Masud calls himself "the ruler of Panjshir" and possibly eventually of all of Afghanistan.

B. Rabbani, a counterrevolutionary chief and leader of The Islamic Society of Afghanistan armed grouping, appointed Masud his deputy in charge of military matters. Officially these two "defenders of Islam" (which, they say, has been put in jeopardy by the revolution) call themselves "ideological fighters" and refer to Panjshir as an important stronghold. Their bombastic verbiage is nothing but camouflage for their base motives. Those whom the West presents as chivalrous patriots spend more of their time plundering the country's national wealth than actually engaging in "guerrilla operations." They are extracting emeralds at full blast and taking them abroad.

"The plunderers mean business," says Hadja Gulistan, until recently an eyewitness of this pillage, which has been going on for more than five years. "Masud has formed several teams of diggers, ordinary peasants, who work at gunpoint. He inspects the loot himself or entrusts the job to his closest accomplices. The stones are bought up for a song. What's more, Masud, who poses as the owner of the mines and a benefactor of the workers, keeps ten per cent of the price which he himself fixes. For fear of a savage reprisal, no trader ventures into the mining area, and no digger steals even the tiniest of the stones he finds."

In Peshawar, Masud's agents sell the emeralds at the Sadir-bazaar. Rabbani, who lives in that city, sells the stones to dozens of local jewellery shops (whose owners are his regular customers)—at a price, of course. Part of the profit goes into buying weapons for Masud's gangs. Just a few "parcels" to Peshawar are equivalent to a caravan-load of submachine guns, machine guns, mountain guns and even missiles, all of which are readily available from Pakistan's markets. The rest—perhaps the lion's share—of the money is pocketed by the heads of the notorious Islamic Society of Afghanistan—Rabbani and Masud.

Masud often plays host to Pakistani, American, British, West German and French instructors, who teach the counterrevolutionaries how to use modern weapons and train saboteurs and terrorists. Many of the guests, Hadja Gulistan says, are not loth to take a stone or two from the Deer Well along on their way back.

Masud keeps a close eye on the slave diggers and drives them hard. They are severely punished for the slightest offence. Several prisons have been set up on the mining grounds. Attempts to escape from the "emerald forced labour camp" involve great risks. Old Hadja Gulistan took the risks and succeeded in making his getaway.

Hadja Gulistan's story is fresh evidence of the fact that all the appeals of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan and other counterrevolutionary organizations to defend Islam are only a smoke screen. The Afghan counterrevolutionaries are ordinary swindlers and thieves rather than fighters for the faith. Nothing is sacred to them. They do not only steal precious stones—they leave no stone unturned to undermine the Afghan people's national dignity and deprive them of their freedom.

G. USTINOV

Kabul—Moscow

APPOINTMENTS

Alexander Mikhailovich BELONOGOV

Permanent Representative of the U.S.S.R. at the U.N. and Representative of the U.S.S.R. in the U.N. Security Council

Alexander Belonogov, a Russian, was born on May 15, 1931, in Moscow. In 1954 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations. A candidate of science (law), he has been a member of the Communist Party since 1958.

Alexander Belonogov began his working career in 1954 as an assistant in the treaty and legal department of the Foreign Ministry. From 1959 to 1962 he worked as a senior assistant and then as attaché in the same department. He was third and second secretary at the ministry's department of international economic organizations from 1959 to 1962; second and first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Britain from 1962 to 1967; counsellor, senior and chief counsellor at the ministry's department for foreign policy planning from 1967 to 1978; chief of a department from 1978 to 1980, and deputy head of the foreign policy planning department from 1980 to 1984. From 1984 to 1986 Alexander Belonogov was ambassador to Egypt.

Alexander Belonogov has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour and the Order of Friendship of the Peoples.

Oleg Gerasimovich PERESYPKIN

Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the Foreign Ministry of the U.S.S.R.

Oleg Peresypkin, a Russian, was born on August 12, 1935, in Baku. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations in 1959, and holds a doctor's degree in history and a candidate's degree in economics. He has been a member of the Communist Party since 1964.

On graduation from the institute, Oleg Peresypkin worked as a translator and then as attaché at the Soviet mission in Yemen. He was attaché and third secretary at the Middle East department of the Foreign Ministry from 1963 to 1965; second secretary and first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Iraq from 1965 to 1969; first secretary at the ministry's Middle East department in 1969-1971; counsellor at the Soviet embassy in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen from 1971 to 1975; counsellor and head of sector in the Middle East department from 1975 to 1980; ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic from 1980 to 1984 and to Libya from 1984 to 1986; a member of the ministry's collegium since 1986.

Oleg Peresypkin has been awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples and several decorations.

The state has helped to provide accommodation and jobs for the 100,000 people from the Chernobyl area

After the Evacuation

ANDREI ILLESH,
Union of Soviet Journalists Prize Winner

Photos by YURI INYAKIN

"Housing and cultural and other facilities are being specially built for the evacuees from the Chernobyl atomic power plant danger zone. The material damages suffered are being recompensed and the necessary work is being done to place them in jobs." This quotation is from the material of a special meeting held by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee to discuss the report of the government commission of inquiry into the causes of the Chernobyl atomic power plant accident and also the steps taken to eliminate the consequences of this accident and generally to ensure safety in nuclear power engineering.

One of Chernobyl's truly colossal problems was summed up in the word "evacuation." Indeed, because of the accident on the fourth unit 31,000 families totalling some 100,000 people had to move out. This would be quite a problem in itself, but in the emergency situation created by the accident the difficulties were multiplied a hundredfold. All the more significant, therefore, is the amount of work that has been done in this respect, as we look back on the situation today.

GRIGORY REVENKO, first secretary of the Kiev regional CPSU committee, says:

Our region was faced with a tragedy which no one had ever experienced before. Yet despite the ordeal, the response of the people gave us hope that everything would come out all right in the end. During the very first day after the accident volunteers telephoned the regional Party committee offering help, saying they were prepared to go anywhere at any time. There was certainly more than enough to do. The zone that had to be evacuated soon increased to some 30 kilometres. We evacuated everyone from that zone. We fixed this 30-kilometre limit because we simply could not place human life and health at risk. We resettled the evacuees in four of the region's districts—the Ivankov, Polesskoye, Borodyanka and Makarov districts. Our most important task at the time was to quickly provide all evacuees with food, clothing and hospitals and to place children in school.

Though the job we had to do during those first few days was tough, a still more difficult task lay ahead. And that was to provide every kind of help that was needed. And we were able to provide that help.

However, first let me clarify a few points. I shall start with the geography. The Chernobyl atomic power plant is actually situated 18 kilometres away from the district seat of Chernobyl, a cosy Ukrainian town, with a population of about 10,000. It is more like a flourishing village because of its blossoming orchards. Next door to the atomic power plant is Pripyat, a modern town built at the same time as the plant. This is where the plant's personnel and their families live, some 40,000 people all told.

But they don't live and work there any more. Today—and I've been there recently—it is extremely odd to see it deserted, except for the occasional patrol vehicles.

I must admit that it makes one sad to see the desolate villages, the locked and barred livestock farms, the hamlets with their hermetically sealed wells. Alongside the roads running into Chernobyl the fields and woods are now completely silent though before they had teemed with people picking mushrooms. Practically all of Kiev used to go out to these lovely places for the weekend. For the time being fishing, swimming, sunbathing and berry picking are out of the question, at any rate in the evacuated 30-kilometre zone. Will those happy times return soon? It's still too early to say. The specialists are working day and night to decontaminate the area. And until it is absolutely safe, no one will be allowed to take up permanent residence there.

As I said earlier, nearly 100,000 people had to be moved out because of the accident. The evacuation was car-

ied out swiftly, calmly, without panic. This was largely because the evacuees noped, or rather believed, that they would soon return, perhaps within a week. However, three months have passed. Scientists keeping a constant vigil have come to the conclusion that in some parts of the 30-kilometre zone, which had been declared a potential health hazard, radiation levels had not risen very much even during the first days following the accident. As for the other parts, there is little hope that people will be able to return soon.

Whenever you talk to the evacuees and those who took them in, what they recall more often than not is their first meeting. The Chernobylites, as the evacuees are now called, knew that things would be arranged for them,

Immediately after the resettlement from Chernobyl these children began to go to a new kindergarten.

Two tractor drivers — one from Chernobyl and the other from the Borodyanka district — are working in the field. The farmers have their hands full in summer.

The district executive committee is trying to provide the evacuees as soon as possible not only with comfortable lodging but also with jobs.

that they would not have to sleep out in the open. But what worried them most was the bother they would cause; they did not want to inconvenience the families that would take them in. The latter, on the other hand, were also anxious as they still had no idea of what had actually happened on the Pripyat River. Though some buses with the evacuees arrived late at night, the accommodating villagers were up and about, ready to give the evacuees a hot meal the moment they came.

The resettled Pripyat evacuees doubled the population of the Ivankov district. All went through a medical check

Airmen, firemen and army units are all helping eliminate the aftermath of the accident.

at once, and regular checkups continue to this day. Shortly afterwards all children were placed in holiday camps along the Black Sea coast and elsewhere in the Ukraine free of charge and for an extended term. Free accomodation was also made available to pregnant women.

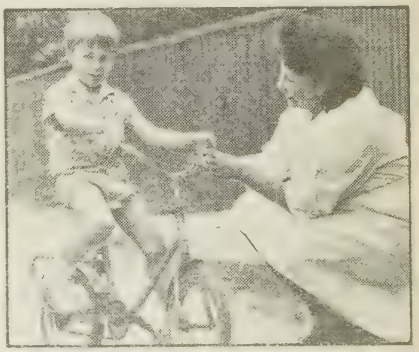
Their hosts helped the evacuees to settle in. Though local canteens and shopping facilities had not been designed to cater to so many customers, the local Soviets did everything necessary and the situation soon became normal. All schoolchildren and mothers with infants were sent to holiday resorts. Many of the staff members of the Chernobyl atomic power plant and the Jupiter radio factory in Pripyat were placed in jobs elsewhere. Thus, within a month, of the original 23,000 evacuees brought to the Polesskoye district only 2,000 remained, the rest were either at health and holiday homes or were working elsewhere.

"The paramount task is to provide the evacuees with housing and cultural and other amenities. It will be necessary to build houses with a total floorspace of some 700,000 square metres for rural inhabitants alone." This is one more quotation from the materials of the special meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

The commission set up to help the evacuees, which is housed in the

The evacuees and those who hospitably sheltered them are living as one family.

Doctors are carefully examining the state of health of the evacuated children.
The roads here should be particularly clean. Special-purpose machines have been delivered to Kiev region from different cities.



building of the regional Soviet in Kiev, helps to find temporary jobs and housing for the evacuees, provides advice as regards social insurance and pensional security and explains the procedure for obtaining cash grants and benefits. Everything is well organized with signs showing whom the applicants

should turn to with their requests for help.

"Thousands have already come to us," Vladimir Makarov, one of the commission's officials, told me. "Besides giving advice we also get train and plane tickets for anyone taking up a job elsewhere or needing a holiday. We also arrange hotel accommodation in Kiev, as tickets are sometimes not available for a particular day. We have likewise helped to eliminate all drawbacks at the holiday centres that have taken in the families of the power plant personnel."

PYOTR MOSKALENKO, chairman of the Borodyanka district executive committee, says:

Our district accommodated some 19,000 evacuees in the first three days alone. All have jobs and a place to live. But it's a bit crowded, and so we are building housing on quite a large scale. We attach priority importance to the construction of a shop, a canteen, a bathhouse, a school and a kindergarten. All this construction is of great psychological significance, for when the evacuees see it they feel happier. In this district alone we intend to build 1,190 cottages for the Chernobylites. They have already been allotted kitchen-garden plots and have been provided with piglets and bull calves.

* * *

Understandably enough, evacuation, resettlement and the taking up of new jobs are no simple matter. But whomsoever you talk to, an elderly peasant woman, a young tractor driver, a war veteran or the mother of a large family, who are now called evacuees because of the tragedy, a word that had been forgotten since the end of the war, you realize that of the nearly 100,000 people caught in the tragedy nobody is overlooked, and no one thinks that their private cares and worries are unimportant.

Kiev Region

Europe: A Laboratory of Détente

LEV TOLKUNOV, Chairman of the Soviet of the Union, Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

Peace has now reigned in Europe for over 40 years. The past four decades have not been idyllically serene, however. The spectre of a destructive war has haunted Europe more than once in that time. Official documents, declassified recently, reveal that the U.S. had no sooner got hold of the atomic bomb than it started preparing an attack on the U.S.S.R. An atomic war against the U.S.S.R. was to have been unleashed in 1945, but plans to go ahead with it were postponed to 1947 and, later, to 1949.... The world teetered on the brink of war for years. During the Caribbean, West Berlin and Middle East crises, the Pentagon had its finger on the nuclear trigger.

Towards the seventies an entirely new situation set in. The Pentagon's plans to achieve absolute military supremacy became a pipe dream. In assessing the new situation, President Nixon stated the equality of the American and Soviet strategic capabilities. He said in April 1969 that the lead had been lost and there would be no more of it. The realization of this fact by U.S. ruling circles paved the way for the signing of a number of treaties which curbed the arms race in certain directions and had a favourable effect on the international political climate—especially in Europe.

The socialist countries have been and remain the initiators and vigorous champions of a policy aimed at safeguarding peace for all the nations of the Old World. It was the socialist community that made persistent efforts to achieve a radical change in the situation on the European continent.

Nevertheless, Europe is still oversaturated with weapons—their concentration on the continent is 20 times the average world figure. The concentration of troops and weapons in the very heart of Europe is especially high.

Today everyone realizes what truly catastrophic consequences the use of armed force on the European continent would bring. The danger lies not only in nuclear war. In Europe there are dozens of atomic reactors and hundreds of chemical plants, and even a few conventional shells could cause irreparable damage by hitting them. An armed conflict would detonate a worldwide holocaust.

This is why the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries attach such great importance to the problems connected with European security. Recently they have put forward a comprehensive programme of measures to guarantee a peaceful future for Europe.

The 27th CPSU Congress has offered entirely new criteria for international developments, those in Europe included. The congress pointed out that it is necessary to show new initiatives, to look for new approaches and make new creative efforts in order to strengthen world peace and security. Soviet Communists have created an enormous wealth of ideas pertaining to the theoretical analysis of international and European politics as well as to the basic trends of U.S.S.R. foreign policy strategy and its implementation. The January 15 statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, the results of the 27th CPSU Congress, the subsequent initiatives on the part of the Soviet leadership, the proposals put forward by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states in Budapest, the new approaches to nuclear arms reduction set out at the June 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee amount to a complex of peace initiatives, an integral programme of vital importance for the world, Europe included.

The results of the 27th CPSU Congress evoked tremendous interest in Western public circles. Much attention is being paid abroad to the internal and international aspects of the CPSU's policy. For all the differences between them, Western Europe's left-wing forces (Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Greens and left Demochristians) wish us success in carrying out our plans for the acceleration of economic and social development and in our efforts to raise production and management efficiency. They pin great hopes on these plans and efforts in their opposition to the onslaught of right-wing forces in the West.

Soviet economic advance is, to a certain extent, in the interests of the influential Western financial and industrial quarters that benefit from long-term and large-scale East-West economic cooperation. "Mr Gorbachev has been adopting a more vigorous approach to Soviet economic policy," Otto Wolff von Amerongen, the prominent F.R.G. industrialist, writes, "which will have a major influence on the course of the 1986-90 five-year-plan period. We know from experience that these plans have repercussions for East-West economic relations and for West German trade with the East in particular."

The Western public is impressed by the consistent, mutually complementary and wide-ranging Soviet initiatives and the rate at which they are being put forward. An analysis of comment shows that of all these initiatives the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and the U.S.S.R.'s persistent offers to the U.S. of an agreement on their mutual termination are the most popular ones with West Europeans. The extensions of the Soviet moratorium over the year since its proclamation are in line with the well-known proposal by the leaders of the six states and with the wishes expressed by representatives of various socio-political forces and anti-war movements.

Besides the moratorium the West European public welcomes the Soviet proposals on medium-range missiles in

the European zone, and on chemical weapons, as well as the socialist community's recently advanced programme for the reduction of troops and conventional weapons in Europe.

The U.S. Administration and its supporters in Western Europe are intentionally taking a hard line on these issues. They are trying to impose on the Soviet side the logic of confrontation and rivalry in arms buildup. Aware of this, many West Europeans say that Moscow's purposeful and consistent effort is bound to pay off possibly in the near future and, certainly, in the long run as part of the overall fight for peace and security.

The Soviet Union has always attached great importance to Europe in its foreign policy. It is not by chance that a substantial proportion of the new Soviet initiatives has a direct bearing upon Europe. It was in Europe that the two world wars broke out, and it was from there that the wars were forced on us. The Soviet Union regards it as its supreme mission to prevent a third world war which the planet cannot survive.

Europe has invaluable experience of peaceful development and fruitful cooperation. The 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe indicated the course it should follow in the future. The conference worked out a code of peaceful life on the continent. The Helsinki Final Act has proved viable over the post-Helsinki years. East and West enter into numerous contacts in the political sphere. The recent period has seen a new round of such contacts—meetings and talks between Soviet leaders, on the one hand, and those of France, the F.R.G. and Britain, on the other. The Belgrade and Madrid forums have come to a close. The conference now in progress in Stockholm holds definite promise. Preparations for a meeting in Vienna are under way.

Economic cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe is making good progress, on the whole. The U.S. is trying to undermine normal business links, to cut our country off from the world technological market, resorting to sanctions and embargoes. Nevertheless, we are doing consistently more trade with the F.R.G., Finland, Italy, France and Austria. In the past five-year period, the U.S.S.R.'s trade with the West increased by 20 per cent and came to almost 40 billion rubles.

Relapses into the cold war have failed to prevent the development of contacts in the humanitarian sphere, either. Cultural exchanges are growing, although certain quarters in the West are trying to use them in their subversive activities against socialist countries and in their speculations on problems of democracy and human rights.

In a word, Europe could well become a generator of détente. There is every condition there for overcoming East-West differences, especially on matters of security, for stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament. There is no doubt that Europe—rightly referred to as a laboratory of détente a decade ago—can furnish new examples of stable, mutually beneficial and reliable peaceful coexistence.

Our European initiatives have the purpose of delivering the continent from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. We are in favour of the elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles. The U.S.S.R. resolutely opposes the spread of the arms race to space and the drawing of Europe into this gamble. It is only too obvious that SDI will afford Europe no protection against a retaliatory nuclear-missile strike. A more likely prospect is that the U.S., having to some degree protected its own strategic installations with the "space shield," may then deliver a first strike from forward positions, from the territory of Europe itself, thus sacrificing its allies.

NATO has declined the socialist countries' proposal to deliver Europe from nuclear weapons under the pretext that this would give the Warsaw Treaty Organization "superiority in conventional arms." This argument holds no water. We suggest an agreement on a substantial reduction in all the land force components and tactical aviation of European states and of the appropriate U.S. and Canadian forces stationed in Europe. The reductions could be carried out throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Conventional arms cuts could be accompanied by a reduction of operational-tactical nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union pursues no objective that would run counter to any third countries' interests. The assertions to the effect that the U.S.S.R. is out to drive a wedge into the Western alliance are totally groundless. It is not our fault that this alliance is torn by internal contradictions and that—as General Bernard Rogers complains—there are strong anti-American sentiments in Western Europe. Moscow has nothing to do with that. The U.S. line on the vital issues of war and peace is at variance with the interests of Western Europe.

Nevertheless, the West European capitals are trying to gloss over the real differences that exist between them and their main ally and set great store by Atlantic loyalty and discipline instead of using their weight and influence to bring Washington round to sobriety and realism. Europe is perfectly equal to this. It has sufficient economic and political potential to speak more confidently and definitely on its own behalf and to work for progress at all the negotiations now underway. Unfortunately, the governments of some NATO countries dissociate themselves from the dangerous extremes of American policy in words only, while actually submitting to pressure from across the Atlantic and thus bearing part of the responsibility for the intensification of the arms race. They are trying to justify their subservience to the Americans with the mythical "Soviet threat" from which American divisions and missiles supposedly protect them, and evade a clear-cut answer to Soviet initiatives, peremptorily dismissing them as "propaganda." Can they not see what outmoded political thinking spells for Europe?

The all-European process has a future. Granted, of course, that the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, the nations and the public of the continent protect this process from the U.S. Administration's subversive policy. There is increasing concern in Western Europe today over the line taken by the White House and the West European governments obedient to it which intend to impress it on the coming Vienna conference that the Helsinki process has failed in the post-Madrid period through the fault of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. For this purpose the U.S. and its allies are trying to slow down the progress of the Stockholm conference and prevent its consummation before the Vienna meeting. Allusions are being made to the failure of the Ottawa and Budapest meetings. The behaviour of the American delegation in Bern where it vetoed the draft final document already agreed upon had a sobering effect on many political and public circles in Western Europe.

Growing numbers of people across the world are becoming convinced that the programme for a complete and universal elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction before the end of this century put forward by the Soviet Union and supported by the socialist world, the stopping of nuclear tests, the achievement of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the arms race in space would make the planet more secure for nations both in and outside Europe. The peace forces in Europe and worldwide must compel Western leaders—whether they want to or not—to give at last a positive answer to our peace proposals, and go their part of the way towards compromise.

Peace-loving and realistic forces in Western Europe and North America are numerous and influential enough. They include representatives of those socio-political circles that keep their distance from the progressive peace movements but are prepared to enter into a dialogue with the other side and even to cooperate with it in the effort to end

the arms race and protect the Helsinki process. In Western Europe there are bourgeois quarters which are looking for an alternative to unconditional subordination to the American diktat.

We sensed these profound changes at the Sixth Inter-Parliamentary Conference on European Cooperation and Security held in Bonn last May. Although sharply divided, MPs from 30 European countries as well as the U.S. and Canada unanimously condemned the arms race and the threat of its spread to outer space, the continuation of nuclear tests and the attempts to achieve military superiority. They also agreed on the need to go ahead with the all-European process and to maintain all-round cooperation among European nations.

Parliaments and MPs have an ever more important role to play in fulfilling the historic mission of safeguarding peace in Europe. The mandate given to all of them by rank-and-file electors is to make every effort to prevent a nuclear conflagration.

The problems associated with ensuring European security are constantly in the focus of attention in the U.S.S.R. Parliamentary Group, which has made no small contribution to the preparation and holding of six interparliamentary conferences on security and cooperation in Europe. The members of the Soviet delegations took an active part in general discussions and in the deliberations of all the conference commissions. The resolutions adopted call on the parliaments and governments of European countries, the U.S., and Canada to step up their effort to stop the arms race, remove all barriers in the way of détente, strengthen security and broaden cooperation in various fields. We are convinced that the all-European process must make headway in all directions: political, economic, humanitarian and cultural. All three Helsinki "baskets" must be filled with fresh and wholesome fruit. The coming meeting in Vienna of the All-European Conference may facilitate this. We believe it will be able to initiate a change for the better.

The current situation is favourable to a positive solution of European security problems and the development of equal cooperation. The record of the past few decades shows, however, that favourable conditions notwithstanding, the fight between the forces of peace and the forces of war in Western Europe will probably remain as fierce as ever in the coming period, and call for vigorous action, initiative and vigilance on the part of all nations. ■

17th congress of the Socialist International

From Vienna to Lima

The 17th Congress of the Socialist International took place in Lima, the capital of Peru, in June. The congress—the first ever to be held in Latin America—was attended by delegates from 75 parties and organizations in more than 50 countries. It demonstrated that the world social democratic movement is an influential public and political force.

Our special correspondent filed a report from the Lima congress.

In the second half of the 1960s a number of leading Social Democratic parties of Western Europe, sensing a shift in the public mood in their countries, came out in support of a policy of international détente. The events have proved that it was a sensible decision. The Social Democrats, remaining within the framework of a liberal bourgeois approach to international politics, have nevertheless scored major successes on the world scene. They have consolidated their position in a number of countries, making gains at the expense of their conservative competitors.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, U.S. imperialist forces dramatically aggravated the international situation by launching a "crusade" against socialism and the forces of national independence, democracy and peace. The Social Democratic parties were faced with a dilemma: either they must watch the developments passively, thus risking losing the backing of the public, which was committed to an anti-war course, or take a stand in accord with the prevailing mood and retain mass support. The Social Democratic parties came into conflict with the nuclear strategy of the U.S. and NATO and to some extent undermined the principles of "Atlantic solidarity." The Socialist International called for an end to the arms race and took a stand against the policy of diktat and the threat of force and the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

The members of the Advisory Council of the Socialist International on Disarmament, led by Kalevi Sorsa, have made three visits to Washington and Moscow in the past few years in a bid to contribute to constructive talks between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on ending the arms race and improving the international situation. In Vienna on October 16 last year a disarmament conference of the Socialist International approved a Vienna appeal, calling primarily on the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as on all governments, parties and religious and public movements, to do everything possible to reverse the arms race.

This policy of the Socialist International was also to the fore at the 17th Congress in Lima and problems of peace and disarmament were high on the agenda. The delegates urged an immediate halt to and eventual ban on all nuclear weapon tests, a 50 per cent cut in nuclear arsenals, and an end to the deployment of medium-range nuclear systems and their subsequent reduction and elimination. The congress condemned the spreading of the arms race into outer space and advocated the use of space exclusively for peaceful purposes, continued observance of the Soviet-U.S. ABM, SALT-1 and SALT-2 accords, the tightening of the non-proliferation regime and the establishment of nuclear-free zones.

The political resolution of the congress, known as the Lima Manifesto, calls upon the U.S. Administration to join the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions and stresses the need to conclude an early comprehensive agreement to ban all nuclear weapon tests.

The congress advocated the total elimination of chemical weapons and voiced support for the joint initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany on the establishment in Central Europe of a chemical weapon-free zone and also for the Soviet proposal for reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

It became clear at the Lima congress that, in spite of differences in approach on a number of social and political problems, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist International hold virtually identical or very close views on major issues in the struggle for peace and disarmament. The President of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, stressed that the position of the CPSU on the problems of peace and disarmament, stated in its message to the Lima congress, had been taken into account when the documents of the congress were being drawn up. "One of the major decisions of the Socialist International's 17th Congress in Lima was to give unconditional support to the initiatives of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, aimed at achieving general disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament," said Carlos Andres Perez, former President of Venezuela and Socialist international Vice-President.

The past few years have seen the dramatic aggravation of the international economic situation as a consequence of the militarist policy pursued by the leading capitalist powers. Striving to retain and tighten its grip on the developing world, imperialism is imposing on it "economic stabilization programmes" through transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund and other financial organizations. These programmes are aimed at winding up the public sector and seek privileges for capital, the devaluation of national currencies and cuts in social spending. As a result, the cost of living is rising unprecedentedly in the developing countries, their economic problems are being exacerbated and their foreign debts are soaring. The Social Democrats could not, of course, ignore these problems at their Lima congress.

A Programme of Action approved by the congress lists measures to overcome the world economic crisis and

improve international economic relations. Armando Villanueva, General Secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party, Anselmo Sule, General Secretary of the Radical Party of Chile, and other delegates stressed in their speeches that stable global development and a viable international economic order required an atmosphere of peace and cooperation and urgent disarmament measures.

This stand is in accord with the viewpoint presented in the message of the CPSU Central Committee to the 17th Congress of the Socialist International: "To stop the arms race and eliminate conflicts that could escalate into war means not only checking the slide towards war but also releasing the resources needed to resolve economic and social problems, including, of course, the problems facing the developing countries, mounting an offensive against hunger, poverty and disease, and preserving the natural environment in a condition suitable for the life of succeeding generations."

The working group of the Socialist International on the foreign indebtedness of developing countries submitted a special paper, which proposed to establish an international organization on foreign indebtedness, with the participation of debtor and creditor countries and banking officials. The committee of the Socialist International on economic policy formulated a five-point programme to settle the problem of foreign indebtedness. It suggests that a part of the debts of the least developed countries be written off; that the remainder of the debts of the Third World be rearranged and rescheduled; that present interest rates be reduced and a limit fixed on them; that debt servicing be limited to a fixed share of the export earnings of the debtor countries; and that the funds made available by the IMF to developing countries to support their payments on debts and to rehabilitate and develop their economies be increased to $150 billion in the next five years.

All these solutions put forward by the Socialist International to resolve the acute problem of indebtedness seem bold—but they should be no reason for wishful thinking as there is a long way to go before they are implemented. And many leaders are well aware of the fact. Jaime Paz Zamora, the leader of the Left Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia, for instance, criticized the documents of the congress which, according to him, should have been more "concrete." He urged the Socialist International to be more prompt in taking decisions on Latin American countries.

The Lima congress attached special importance to the situation in that region, and with good reason. The leaders of the Socialist International believe Latin America to be more ready to absorb Social Democratic ideas than any other region in view of a number of political, economic, social and cultural factors. They think that the broadening of anti-dictatorial movements in a number of Latin American countries is objectively boosting the role of national reformist parties and hope that the spread of social democratic influence amongst them will make it possible to direct the national liberation movement towards the development of democracies on the West European model and block the further spread of communist ideas in the continent. Yet the Social Democratic-oriented parties in Latin America which are under the influence of the Socialist International are characterized by a broad "ideological plurality," and this is only to be expected as even traditional reformist slogans often acquire pronounced anti-imperialist overtones in a region where many countries are captive to the U.S. and transnationals. That is why parties whose ideologies and policies are identical in many ways to those of the Socialist International as well as parties representing the left wing of international social democracy cooperate with the Socialist International in Latin America. They are making a substantial contribution to the formulation of radical solutions to the problems of the Third World and showing increasing consistency in countering U.S. interventionist policy.

As the delegates discussed a special report entitled "Peace, Democracy and Human Rights in Latin America," they supported the process of democratization in the continent, initiated by the return to civilian rule in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil and marked by the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti. They strongly deplored the dictatorial regimes in Chile and Paraguay, voiced solidarity with the struggle being waged by the Salvadoran patriots and urged the British government to resume talks with Argentina on every aspect of the problem of the Malvina (Falkland) Islands.

The influence of West European Social Democracy on developments in Latin America is bringing the Socialist International into conflict with the U.S. Their contradictions are making themselves felt especially strongly in Central America because the Socialist International has taken the side of Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots. Washington has even made statements to the effect that the Europeans failed to understand the full complexity of the situation in Central America and warned that the aggravation of the situation in the region could have a negative effect on the U.S. ability to live up to its commitments in NATO.

These exhortations, however, had little effect. Socialist International leaders, including West Europeans, noted that the primary cause of acute social conflicts in countries of Central America was popular discontent with oligarchic dictatorial regimes. Peruvian President Alan Garcia Perez, president of the committee of the Socialist International on Latin America and the Caribbean Juan Francisco Peña Gomez of the Dominican Republic, and many other speakers strongly criticized the Reagan Administration for its undeclared war against the Nicaraguan people. The resolution of the congress on Latin America and the Caribbean voiced undivided support for the Contadora group and the Contadora support group.

The Socialist International has worked for a long time on a new declaration of principles to replace the one approved in Frankfort on the Main as far back as 1951. The new document is intended to take account of changes in the world and in the Social Democratic movement since that time and to formalize the universal rather than Eurocentrist model of the democratic socialism of the 21st century.

Yet the new draft declaration, prepared by a special commission under Spanish leader Felipe Gonzalez, was never submitted to the congress; it only approved a Lima mandate which formulated in general terms the basic principles of "democratic socialism."

It was possible for an observer at the Lima congress to draw one substantial conclusion: in spite of ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats, there are today broader opportunities than ever before for useful exchanges of opinion between them and for parallel and even joint actions against the danger of war, for the improvement of the international situation, the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and the interests and rights of the working people. As Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at his meeting with members of the Advisory Council of the Socialist International on Disarmament in March 1985, "the international situation imperatively demands the vigorous and effective efforts of the working class and the democratic movement in the struggle against the threat of war. The CPSU for its part is prepared for energetic cooperation with all the public forces for peace, including the parties participating in the Socialist International—this is our firm and consistent policy and we will pursue it in the future as well."

Successful advance in this direction will depend in many ways on the readiness of the Socialist International and the parties united in it for such cooperation.

Y. ANTONOV

Lima—Moscow

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The throes of the dictatorship and the will of the people

A Regime Non Grata

VOLODIA TEITELBOIM,
Member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Chile

The Chilean dictator Pinochet, a CIA stooge, is one of the more unpalatable offsprings of U.S. state terrorism. The U.N. General Assembly has consistently deplored his policy for 13 years and he has long been persona non grata to the Chileans themselves.

The dictator, hated in the capital, once believed that his tours of the provinces gave him "a vitamin shot in the arm to carry on the struggle." Yet as from February 1984, he has been "greeted" everywhere, from Arica to Punta Arenas, with mass demonstrations, their participants chanting "Down with the tyrant!" and "Pinochet has no right to be accounted one of us!"

Civil Assembly

Pinochet has now taken refuge in his bunker. His visits to the provinces are becoming increasingly dangerous and unnerving. Chileans detest him and he has been rejected by the international community.

Broad sections of the population became especially active in the struggle against the dictatorship last April and May. The opposition forces called a "month of civil disobedience" last June, and mass action has been growing in scale ever since. The streets of Santiago and other cities are the scene of fierce clashes almost daily. Troops and police attack mass demonstrations, in which people of virtually every social stratum and political persuasion take part. For the first time in 13 years of dictatorship, all the opposition groupings have signed an agreement on joint action and united in a National Civil Assembly.

The second half of 1986 will see the further broadening of the anti-dictatorial struggle, which is becoming increasingly diversified and giving an impetus to the civil disobedience campaign and efforts to destabilize the regime. As popular resistance grows and threatens to erupt into a national insurrection, Pinochet finds it more and more difficult to control the situation. Current public opinion polls show that his regime has no support from the people. The National Council of Chilean Workers is uniting the trade unions, and people from all age groups, from grammar school upwards, are participating in the national struggle.

The Middle Classes Join In

And it is not only among the proletariat that anti-regime sentiments are growing. The overwhelming majority of the Chilean middle class are now opposing the junta.

Delegates from 250 public organizations met to launch the Civil Assembly. They represented most of the population, inspired by the idea of fighting together under the slogan "We can win and we must!" The founders of the Assembly included the National Council of Chilean Workers, the Federation of Professional College Students, the Confederation of University Students, the Coordinating Union of the Poor, Women for Life, uniting all the women's organizations in the country, the National Farmers' Commission, the Confederation of Cooperatives, the Council of Intellectual Workers and Actors, the National Union of Pensioners, the Federation of Truck Owners and Retailers, and others.

The Executive Committee of the Assembly includes representatives of different organizations. Although it emerged as an alliance of public organizations rather than political parties, the two most influential forces in the country, the Christian Democrats and the Communists, are more widely represented than others in the Civil Assembly.

The Assembly approved a document entitled "Chile Demands!" The thrust of the document is that power must be vested in the people so that they can exercise democracy. A section of the document entitled "We Demand Democracy to Restore National Independence!" points out the need to do away with the so-called doctrine of national security, return Chile to the Latin American and Third World community and revise the terms under which the country's onerous foreign debt is being repaid. The document stresses that there is no reason to block the Chileans' right to choose a government by secret ballot in regular and free general elections.

Pinochet was given 30 days to reply but he reacted with tougher repression. Foreseeing such a reaction, the Civil Assembly and its Executive Committee approved a plan of mass action.

Pinochet would like to provoke panic among the people, but most Chileans are no longer afraid. Humiliated, tortured and killed day after day throughout the dark years of the dictatorship, they are now sloughing off their fears. Conversely, it is the armed forces, their senior commanders and the dictator himself that are increasingly fearful today.

The dictator has every reason to be alarmed. He is incensed by the international solidarity being shown to the Chilean democrats and the continuous condemnation of the regime by international organizations. Late last May, 67 parliamentarians from 12 Latin American and European countries met with 135 former Chilean MPs in Santiago. Everyone present at the meeting denounced the atrocities of the tyranny and demanded a return to democracy.

Pinochet was so outraged that he abandoned all decency and hurled abuse at the parliamentarians.

The vice-president of Chile's influential Christian Democratic Party, José Ruiz di Giorgio, once said: "Chile has no government." He is absolutely right: the Pinochet cabinet is unable to resolve any problem and its only function is to suppress the people. The dictatorship is like a moribund elephant which still has somehow remained on its feet.

The crisis of the regime is inexorably spreading to politics, social affairs, morality and, of course, the economy. According to the figures supplied by the Latin American Institute of Doctrines and Social Studies, 55 per cent of Chileans live in poverty and

32 per cent on the brink of abject misery. The figures grew 4- and 6-fold, respectively, from 1970 to 1983.

A poll carried out by the institute has shown that 46 per cent of the national income is appropriated by 10 per cent of the population, while 20 per cent of the poorer families get a mere 3.3 per cent.

A commentator for the magazine Apsi Economia, Alvaro Garcia, wrote in March 1986:

"One of the forms of violence practised in Chile today is to take earnings away from the hungry to put more dollars into the pockets of a handful of people. A mandatory condition of any truly democratic plan is recognition of the need to redistribute incomes among the population."

A military patrol in Santiago.

And Pinochet, like any other dictator, is redistributing them, looking after his own interests. He is rumoured to have stashed away billions of dollars in secret accounts in Swiss and U.S. banks. His children, sons-in-law and other close and distant relatives control economic empires; they started from scratch and battened on embezzlement. Following in Somoza's footsteps, they take over public property under the cover of "privatization." The feverish growth of family businesses has led not only to the formation of "a club of strange affairs," described by the press, but to the emergence of a "strange area" in the economy. Pinochet's son-in-law, Julio Ponce Lerou, for instance, controls several businesses and earns fabulous profits. The dictator's two sons—one of whom is the Chilean Consul in Los Angeles—are transferring money for the family to other countries against a rainy day.

Third in Line

Pinochet is looking after his generals as well. While the monthly income of 60 per cent of Chileans is roughly 12,000 pesos (about 60 dollars), a Pinochet general gets 56 times as much.

After the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier and Ferdinand Marcos, there were several predictions that Pinochet would be third in line. A Chilean politician borrowed a football term and said that in a letter Ronald Reagan had shown the dictator a yellow card. Shortly after that, for the first time since Pinochet came to power, the American delegate voted in Geneva against the military regime established on September 11, 1973, with the vigorous support of the CIA and the Pentagon.

That vote was taken note of, especially as Washington had often been the only one to back the dictatorship at various international forums. Politicians from the right-of-centre opposition were heartened by the fact. But has the Reagan Administration really revised its stand, opting for a new solution to the Chilean problem? Or is it casting around for another general, like Haiti's Namphy, to replace Pinochet? Or will it eventually decide on the Philippine model and give support to a government led by a prominent public figure?

All such speculation was dashed in a recent statement by Vernon Walters, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. Addressing a meeting of a committee of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, he said the United States would like to express recognition of the positive actions taken by the Chilean government and added that the debate on observance of human rights in Chile was unwarranted because Chile could no longer be considered a special case in this respect.

Walters' statement can be illustrated effectively by the tragic fate of a young Chilean, Rodrigo Rojas Denegri. After a long exile (in Washington), Rodrigo returned to Santiago. Six weeks later, in the early hours of a national strike on July 2 and 3, he was burned alive by Pinochet's troops. Soldiers doused the young man with petrol and set him alight, and he became a human torch, another Joan of Arc. Carmen Quintana, an 18-year-old student who was at Rodrigo's side, is now hovering between life and death. As Rodrigo was being buried, the news came from Valparaiso that Mario Antonio Araya Marchant, 24, had been killed in a similar manner.

The White House Manoeuvres

Yet the ambiguous support of the United States for a gradual transition to democratic government in Chile is not fortuitous. It is prompted by Washington's fears of finding another Nicaragua on their hands. The United States would not like to be as much as a minute late when the long overdue radical political change comes to Chile. Washington believes it should be poised to act five minutes before the rule of its favourite dictator ends.

However, Washington has not yet abandoned Pinochet's plan to sit tight till the 1989 elections and remain in power for another 8 years, till 1997. There is every indication that the White

A demonstration of protest in the Chilean capital.

Photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

House will not take serious action or produce any initiative that could harm its man in La Moneda [the presidential residence in Santiago—**Ed.**]. And it is only if the dictator loses his grip on the army, especially the land forces, that the United States will use another card and look for a general to replace Pinochet, as was the case in Port-au-Prince. Or it may find two generals, like Fidel Ramos and Ponce Enrile in Manila. Their task will be to facilitate and guarantee the transfer of power to a right-of-centre civilian government, if, of course, it pledges absolute loyalty to Washington.

Those who believe that Reagan, Weinberger, Shultz and Casey will themselves topple Pinochet are seriously mistaken. The White House would like the dictator to stay on for as long as possible because he serves American interests better than anyone. Pinochet himself, moreover, will do everything he can to cling to power.

It is only by joint action that the opposition can secure the liberation of Chile. The U.S. leaders understand that this will be no godsend for them and are making every effort to prevent the opposition rallying together. There are countless U.S. stratagems to break the alliance of the two major opposition forces, the Popular Democratic Movement, which unites the Communists, the Socialists led by Clodomiro Almeyda, the Left Revolutionary Movement, the MAPU and other leftist organizations, on the one hand, and the Democratic Alliance, a coalition led by the Christian Democrats, on the other. All these intrigues have been blocking the unification of the forces of opposition over the years, thus making it easier for the dictatorship to remain in power.

On the other hand, the White House has been trying in every way to secure understanding between the dictatorship and the right-of-centre opposition forces. But such an accord has proved impossible: Pinochet is strongly opposed to any alliance and has no use for anything short of unconditional obedience. He rejected the so-called national accord offered to him.

Chronology for a Dictatorship

To all appearances, Pinochet plans not only to stay in power till 1989 but also to appoint himself president for the succeeding term till 1997. Then, he believes, a caretaker regime rather than a liberal civilian government should take over. There will be a figurehead civilian president while the military continue to wield power. They will declare themselves the mainstay of the state and the fathers of the nation, allegedly prone to foolhardy left-wing experiments. The army, like a superpoliceman, will keep an eye on the situation so that the main principles proclaimed by the military in 1973 continue to be respected.

The Communist Party of Chile has given a thorough analysis to the historical practice of the past few decades, including the intervention of U.S. imperialism and the role of reactionary militarism which is in its service. The Communists have also examined the plan for permanent dictatorship, drawn up by theorists from the Army Academy under the influence of the Pentagon's doctrine of national security. That doctrine is based on the premise of "domestic warfare," i. e., incessant repression of the people, and also on "permanent military rule": power must be exercised directly by the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The authors of the plan would like a military man to remain at the helm in the 21st century as well. Any civilian president should be nothing more than a puppet. The military, moreover, will not merely manipulate the strings: they will not hide behind the walls of the presidential palace but should exercise real power, vested in them by Pinochet's 1980 Constitution.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Chilean people is no longer prepared to tolerate the dominance of the army. The armed forces should be totally democratized. The army command, including Pinochet himself, is alarmed by the trials of members of the three Argentine military juntas on charges of abuses of human rights and shamefully incompetent direction of the armed forces in the Falklands war. Many of them would like to be dealt with in a manner similar to that in Spain or Brazil. But history does not repeat itself, as a matter of course: the situation in Chile is far more acute, inter alia, because unlike the dictatorships in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, the case here is not of a triumvirate or collective tyranny but of a dictator who has monopolized power.

There is another awesome spectre haunting the military, namely, the Nuremberg Trial. The families of many people who have died or disappeared, political prisoners who have been tortured and numerous political exiles, living in 50 countries all over the world, are not looking for revenge. What they are demanding is a trial. But there will be a trial only when there comes forward a force capable of organizing it and enforcing its verdict. There should be a trial to punish the criminals. It will not bring back the dead, of course, but the terrible experience of the recent past should become a guarantee that no more innocents will be killed in Chile and that there will be no other Pinochet in the country either in this century or in any other. To guarantee this the phenomenon must be eradicated. This is the main task of the Chilean Communists, it reflects the aspirations of the whole people, and is formulated in two words: "Never again!"

Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, formulated our plan for mass popular resistance in September 1980. He pointed the way for the people to follow. Today, when a nationwide movement and day-to-day resistance are unfolding, the struggle waged by the people is taking diverse forms, both peaceful and armed. One characteristic feature of that struggle is the participation of the mass of the population. Every section of the population is making specific demands—and in conditions of general crisis there are not a few—but all are calling for an immediate end to the dictatorship and a return to democracy.

Crucial Point

Following a national protest strike in early July, the Communist Party of Chile stated that it advocated talks with the armed forces and would support a military government "without President Pinochet" as a way for the country to return to democracy.

The people—most of whom are in opposition to the government—clearly understand that Pinochet will never surrender power voluntarily. He must be banished. Young people of different persuasions have united in the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, which has become a militant national force.

The weeks and months immediately ahead will see the intensification and broadening of the struggle. National strikes are clearing the way for a national uprising. To block these developments, Pinochet has announced that he will stop at nothing, even a repetition in 1986 of the massacre of September 11, 1973. But the situation in the country has changed.

People who have shed their fears are ready to do anything. They cannot and will not tolerate the dictatorship any longer. Major strides have recently been made in the unification of the opposition forces. Dearly-bought experience of genuine struggle has been accumulated and various forms of resistance tested.

The year 1986 may be a crucial one for Chile. The slogan "All Chile and all the world versus Pinochet" is winning increasing support. It is only Reagan and his Administration who are pursuing an ambiguous policy and playing their cards with caution, determined to support the dictatorship all the way—till within a few minutes of its fall.

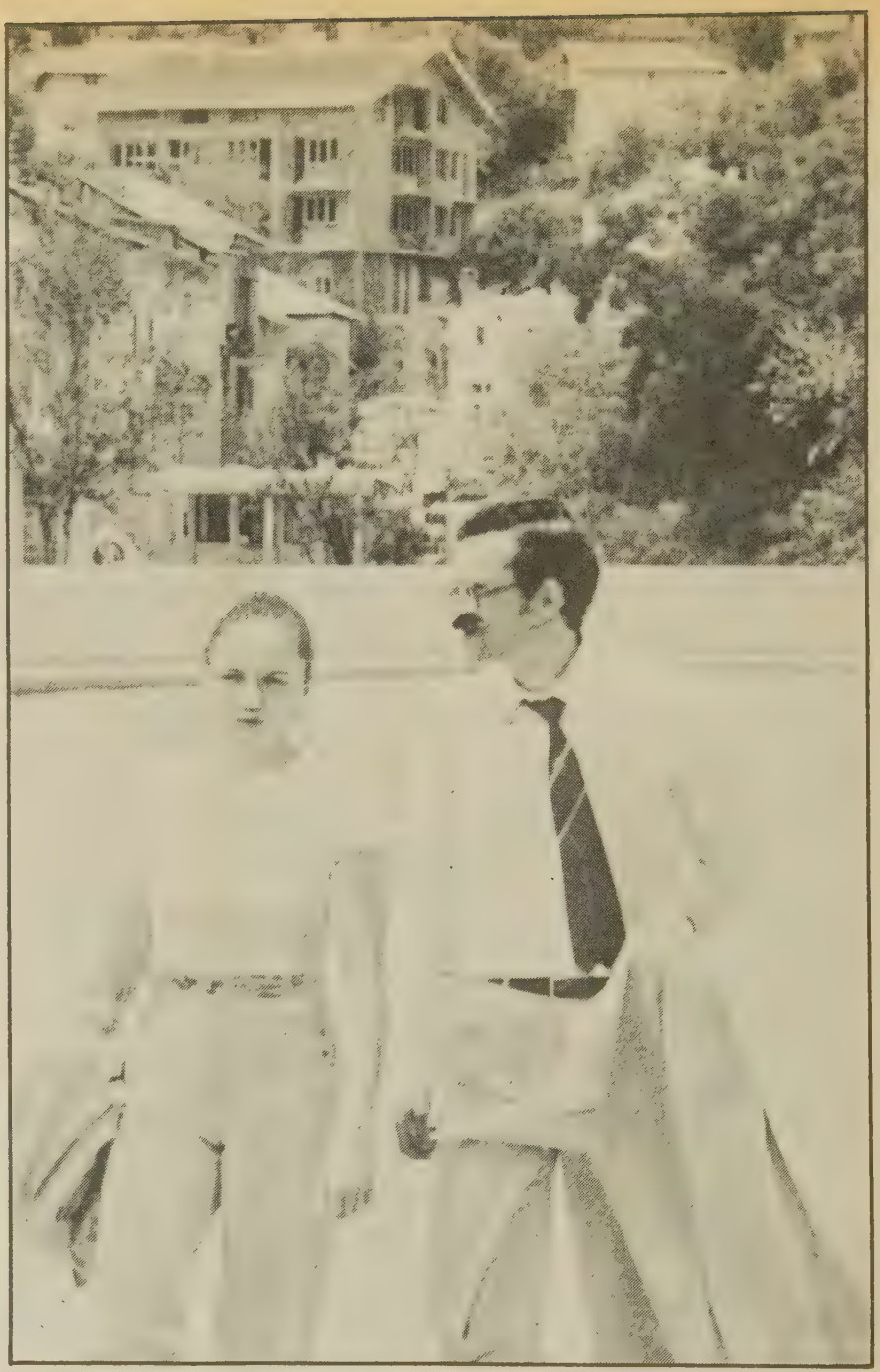
In this situation the importance of international solidarity is paramount. The people of Chile know that the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and public organizations in the West—in short, most of mankind—are on their side. ■

Sergei Antonov

Interview after His Return Home

The "Rome Case" Is Not Closed

Defence Appeal Before the Italian High Court



My colleagues from Otechestven Front and I were going to a small town at the foot of the Pirin Mountains in the southwestern part of Bulgaria. I had already visited this town named after Jane Sandanski, the revolutionary and fighter against the Turkish oppression. I was now looking forward to meeting a contemporary whose name became known the world over.

Sergei Antonov, former agent of the Bulgarian airline company in Rome, returned home early in April and is now undergoing a course of treatment at the balneotherapeutic centre at the famous thermal springs. Putting it bluntly, I must say that various medical specialists, particularly neuropathologists, are still concerned about his condition. The four years (or rather 1,222 days) in detention and the enervating and provocative trial have gravely undermined his health. The very appearance of the emaciated young man (who was 38 on July 11) shows what he went through in the dismal solitary cell, during the interminable questioning, innumerable confrontations with defamers, the chief of whom was Agca, and in the humiliating iron cage in the hall of the Foro Italico. The doctors warned us that what the patient needed was peace and quiet and more of both. For this reason they limited the time of the interview to a minimum.

Sergei came out to meet us with his mother Ivanka and his daughter Anna in the lobby of the newly-built Hotel Sandanski. Giving us a friendly handshake he quickly answered our questions as to how he felt:

"Like anyone at home with his loved ones."

When somebody suggested conducting the interview around a table in the cool and shady hall, Sergei protested, pointing to a bright place near a big window. He returned home only several months ago, and this time has not been enough to erase the memory of the endless racking nightmare in another country or the gloomy experience of the prison cells. I could not help thinking that his thirst for light, fresh air, the warmth of human hearts would take a long time to quench.

Getting down to his story, Sergei Antonov said: "The first thing I did, when I got back home, was to go to the airport at Sofia to meet my old friends and comrades at work. I am proud to say that the wings of our civil aviation have grown stronger and that our aircraft are flying to all continents. I am eager to get back to my regular job."

He went on to say that truth and justice will certainly triumph. The three

Bulgarians falsely accused at the trial in Foro Italico, their fellow-countrymen and sincere people the world over were working for this. The "Rome case" had not closed. By releasing him "for lack of evidence of complicity in the attempt on the Pope's life" Italian justice, in defiance of incontrovertible facts and logic, did not completely remove the shadow of suspicion from him and his countrymen Zhelyo Vassilev and Todor Aivazov. What quarters was it trying to please?

The whole trial proved beyond any doubt that it was the American CIA and the reactionaries it mobilized in Italy, the F.R.G., Turkey and several other NATO countries that bent over backwards to frame a plausible case about the "Bulgarian trail" in St. Peter's Square. But there were no facts, nor could there be any. That was why Italian justice could not give Sergei Antonov a long prison sentence. So it resorted to casuistry, which did it no credit.

In Sofia I interviewed Professor Boris Spassov, an eminent Bulgarian lawyer, a member of parliament and chairman of the National Committee in Defence of Antonov. His judgement of the disgraceful framed trial was categorical.

"We are waiting for an explicit and just wording of the judgement by the Roman court of law," he said. "Therefore, we do not consider the 'Rome case' closed. The Italian lawyers who defended Antonov, Vassilev and Aivazov have filed an appeal to the Rome court of superior jurisdiction. They proceed from the premise that all three Bulgarians were defamed by the terrorist Agca. They are not implicated in any way in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II. I repeat therefore that they are completely innocent. All progressive lawyers, including the members of the international commission for the investigation of the 'Antonov case' headed by Sean MacBride, all the national committees in defence of Antonov, the Soviet committee in particular, hold this view. I would like to take this opportunity to convey to the Soviet National Committee and all Soviet people our fraternal gratitude for their solidarity and moral support."

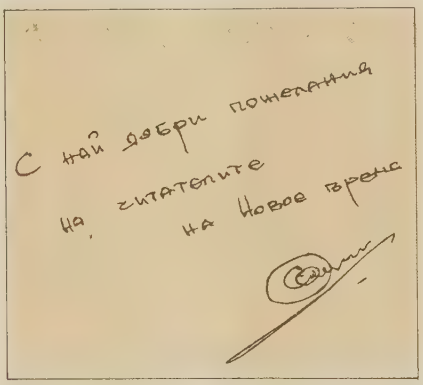
At the request of the Soviet National Committee we presented Sergei Antonov with the books and pamphlets by our historians, publicists and journalists about the real facts behind the trial in the Foro Italico, and some souvenirs from Soviet people, including a miniature edition of Sergei Yesenin's poetry published in Baku.

Ivanka Antonova, Sergei's mother, proudly remarked: "My son also writes poetry and dedicates it to his daughter Anna." Fair-haired Anna, an excellent student at a mathematics gymnasium in Sofia, joined in the conversation saying:

"Daddy gave me a whole album of his poetry. He is continuing to write poetry now that he's home. As the first reader I want to say that I like daddy's poetry very much."

It was obvious that her praise made Antonov somewhat uneasy. He embraced his 16-year-old daughter tenderly. She too went through painful experience abroad when she could see her father in prison only for a brief moment through a barrier of bullet-proof glass under the strict eye of the prison wardens. He would recite poetry to his daughter from memory. Anna would remember it and then write it down in her album. It was about light conquering darkness and about a reunion at home full of sunshine....

Sergei Antonov's relatives and numerous friends fought for him to bring this day closer. Before leaving Sofia for Sandanski I met Tanya Georgiyeva, Sergei's sister, who is an engineer. She frequently came to Italy where she spent a long time sharing the trials of house arrest with her brother. When he was too ill to be kept in the dungeons of the Ascoli Piceno and Rebibbia prisons, the judges were compelled to allow him to stay at his closely guarded apartment in via Pola in Rome.



Recalling her experiences Tanya said: "The anxiety-, fear- and worry-filled days my brother, the other members of the family and myself spent in Rome revealed to us the power of human solidarity. When I went to Rome to help my brother, my comrades at the Georgi Kostov works in Sofia worked for many hours for me to give our family moral and material support."

Sergei Antonov and his close relatives also had friends in Italy itself. Many sincere people raised the defamed Bulgarian's morale by manifestations of kindness and by sending him moving letters. Tanya named several Italians who gave evidence as witnesses at the trial. Defying intimidation and provocation, they always testified to the innocence of the Balkan airline company employee and denied Agca's fabrications outright.

Waves of solidarity reached Rome from many countries. Total strangers, regardless of their nationality, joined in the fight for the truth against defamation.

"A short while ago there was a moving meeting in Sofia with members of the British national committee in defence of Sergei," Tanya continued. "They visited our works and I entertained them at my home."

The resonant echo of the "Roman case" has reached the small town of Sandanski. National committees in defence of Antonov are carrying on their work in many countries. Books on the abortive campaign of slander engineered by the enemies of Bulgaria and the opponents of socialism, peace and détente have appeared in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the U.S.A., France and other countries. The fight for the truth continues and this is inspiring to Sergei, gives him strength and is speeding his recovery.

At the hotel—the balneotherapeutic centre for foreign tourists—it was lunch time. As we gathered round a large table Sergei Antonov ordered Bulgarian national dishes for the guests. He himself hardly touched the food, as his appetite was still poor.

Everybody, even the children, know Sergei Antonov here. As we walked down the long shady alley many people greeted him warmly. Sergei's mother remarked that both the inhabitants of Sandanski and visitors tried not to bother him with questions, because they knew it was vital for him to recover as quickly as possible and get back to socially useful work and his regular occupations.

It is, of course, still difficult for Sergei Antonov to engage in a lengthy conversation and write about his experiences. I told him I was going to report on the interview in the Soviet weekly New Times. He remarked that he knew the journal well and was grateful to the editors and readers for their sympathy and support and for publications in defence of the innocent Bulgarians. In his minute hand-writing Sergei Antonov slowly and carefully wrote:

"With best wishes to the readers of New Times."

Bidding Sergei Antonov farewell, we wished him quick recovery and the triumph of justice. He replied: "I am sure it will be as you say."

Nikolai PANIYEV
deputy chairman,
Soviet National Committee in
Defence of Antonov

Sofia-Moscow

Sergei Antonov with his daughter Anna.

Photo by Dmitry Boyadjiyev

The Washington Leaks

about the U.S. President's recent letter with SDI proposals

NIKOLAI SHISHLIN

The bitter debates on the "star wars," or, as the U.S. President euphemistically calls it, Strategic Defence Initiative programme continue unabated.

The official American argumentation in support of SDI is compounded of a diversity of skilfully contrived propaganda devices.

It is contended, for instance, that SDI would make nuclear weapons impotent and useless and shift the emphasis in military strategy to defence. It is claimed that with the creation of the supershield, offensive weaponry would be worth no more than the stone axes displayed in ethnographic museums.

The prospect painted is attractive indeed: a space safety device would be created and strategic armaments eliminated as not needed. True, what is unclear is what would happen after this to the space safeguard itself set up at the cost of hundreds of billions of dollars.

It is also said that the SDI programme is purely a research project. As such it is seen as fully consistent with what Washington calls a "narrow" interpretation of the ABM treaty of 1972, which (again in Washington's opinion) allows the development and testing of space-based ABM systems pivoted on the latest achievements of physics (lasers, particle beams, etc.). To this it is added that if the research and tests prove successful the public will have nothing to worry about. The U.S. would enter into talks with the Soviet Union with a view to revising the ABM treaty. And then the U.S. would bedeck outer space with all of these strike systems.

The Soviet Union is being assured that in the event of the realization of the "star wars" programme Washington would magnanimously offer it the latest fruit of American military technological thought, either as a gift or in exchange for appropriate payment. This, it would appear, is the potential about-turn built into the present U.S. Administration's stubborn striving to acquire the miracle weapon. We are asked to believe in its readiness to renounce military superiority immediately after gaining it.

All these propaganda exercises are thoroughly examined in the book "Space Fantasies and the Earthly Realities" by the Soviet world affairs analyst Alexander Bovin, an excerpt from which is given elsewhere in this issue.

The debaters are of different kinds. There are those who dismiss the arguments of the other side out of hand and stubbornly cling to their own. Another method used is to attribute to the opponent an argumentation of their own invention and then demolish it. But there are also genuine debates, in which all the pros and cons are brought forward to help establish the truth. This is the method used by Bovin, who liberally cites both supporters and opponents of SDI and advances his own thoroughly substantiated conclusions.

Interest in what will happen to SDI has been stimulated in recent weeks in the West by commentaries on the contents of President Reagan's July letter to CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

New Times has received many letters from foreign readers who say that they have gained the impression that the Reagan letter removes all obstacles to the holding of a new Soviet-American summit meeting, and that everything now depends on the Soviet side. More, the belief is voiced that there is a "great compromise" in the offing which supposedly consists in the United States observing the provisions of the ABM treaty for seven or seven and a half years (in other words, would refrain from deploying space strike systems), while the Soviet Union and the United States would at the same time carry out a far-reaching reduction—say by 50 per cent—of some types of strategic offensive weapons.

Let us take the press reports at face value. There is good reason for doing so. For the U.S. mass media would hardly join in so well orchestrated a chorus without the knowledge of the White House. Besides, this is not the first leakage of confidential information in American practice. The pattern is the customary one: without waiting for a reply from Moscow (which is making a serious and thorough study of the President's letter) the U.S. Administration is publicizing its ideas. And, true enough, these ideas, and primarily SDI, need high-pressure salesmanship.

What does the American proposal for a seven-year prolongation of the ABM treaty of unlimited duration mean? Is it a concession to the Soviet Union as the press contends? Or a sign of the U.S. President's readiness to reappraise the situation with a view to real advance towards ending the arms race on earth and in outer space?

Regrettably neither question can be answered in the affirmative.

Of what concession, of what step to meet the Soviet position halfway can there be any talk if U.S. leaders responsible for SDI authoritatively declare that at least nine or ten years are needed to develop and test all the components of this programme. In the light of this obvious fact the seven-year restraint on the part of the U.S. is deceptive. It is precisely in these years that Washington proposes to conduct both research on and the testing of the SDI components—in other words, to prepare the material, scientific and technological base for the deployment of these sophisticated weapons in space.

Nor is there any indication that the present Administration is likely to reappraise the situation. The U.S. attitude to the problem of ending the arms race on earth and preventing it in outer space remains unaltered. The arms race is being stepped up in all areas. While talking of the possibility of a "great compromise," U.S. top political leaders incessantly call for the continued buildup of U.S. military strength. For what purpose? Plainly to create what they consider the main precondition of success in talks with the Russians.

This is no way to arrive at a compromise of any kind. Compromise presupposes an altogether different mode of action, it calls for meeting each other halfway, scrupulous respect of the security interests of both one's own

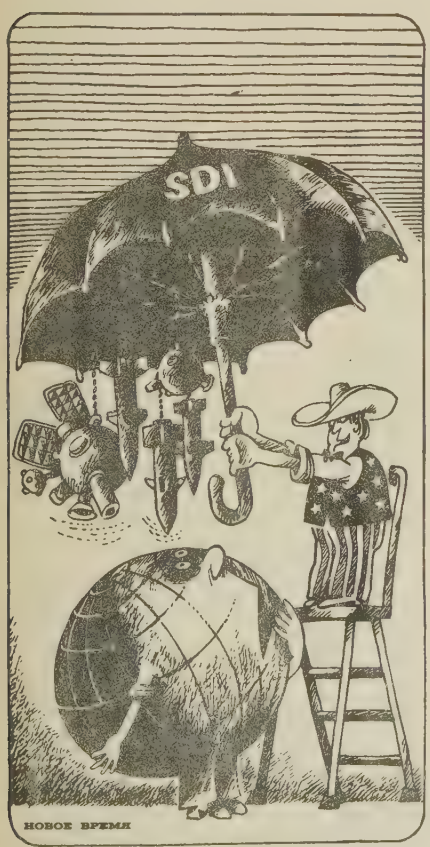
country and of the country with which an agreement is sought.

Dead ends in international relations are artificially created. They are the results of wrong policies, of erroneous evaluations of the intentions and the potential of the other side. This is a point that must be stressed in connection with SDI and the treatment in the Western press of President Reagan's July letter.

As has been pointed out time and again, the Soviet Union wants a new Soviet-American summit. But it must be productive, it must be a step towards serious agreements on the crucial issues relating to the strengthening of international security. The Soviet Union demonstrates its political good will by its actions.

The U.S.S.R. is going its part of the way confidently and steadfastly. But for the sides to meet, the United States must not backslide or mark time, but move forward, towards tangible, weighty agreements.

Let us now give the floor to Alexander Bovin.



"As you can see, all this is for the sake of your safety!"

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov

The Chain Reaction

the realization of SDI would spark off

ALEXANDER BOVIN

The Strategic Defence Initiative provides not for the elimination of offensive armaments, but for adding to them new strike systems. These new systems will have a powerful offensive potential, apart from their defensive functions. The strategic purpose of such a combination of offensive and defensive systems is the use of the "sword" under the cover of a "shield" the creation of favourable conditions for a preemptive strike and "victory" in a nuclear missile war.

The all but maniacal insistence of the present U.S. Administration on its "star wars" programme can be explained. Washington sees in the deployment of a full-scale anti-missile defence system the logical consummation of its incessant striving for strategic superiority, which in the view of the Reagan team is as natural and essential as the ascendancy of "absolute good" over "absolute evil."

Account must also be taken of the pressure exerted by the military-industrial complex, which has become virtually a self-propagating system demanding more and more multibillion-dollar contracts and the pursuance of a policy consistent with its financial interests and technological potential.

There is no doubt that efforts to give effect to the President's "initiative" will set off a chain reaction of negative consequences. The danger of a radical upset in strategic parity will arise. Militarization of outer space would torpedo the ABM treaty. The Soviet Union would have to take countermeasures. This would mean the beginning of a new and highly dangerous round in the arms race. The achievement of an agreement on arms limitation in general would become questionable. All this would increase international tension and upset the already fragile stability. The very first approaches to the realization of SDI are creating additional difficulties in Soviet-American relations. In the final analysis neither side will gain by the growth of potential threats and uncertainties: both will be losers.

A special report published by the American Union of Concerned Scientists in March 1984 observed that U.S. persistence in giving effect to its plan for the creation of an anti-ballistic missile defence system would evoke a reply from the Soviet Union and set off a chain of actions and counteractions that would radically alter the strategic situation to the detriment of the security of both sides. Peace would become more vulnerable, the report said. And while the supposed merits of such a system remained remote and hypothetical the dangers attendant upon it were patent and perfectly predictable. One can hardly disagree with this conclusion.

Kenneth L. Adelman, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, however, sees a "curious inconsistency" in Soviet propaganda concerning SDI. It is depicted, he contends, as a dangerous and destabilizing move to which the Soviet Union will take countermeasures and at the same time it is described as useless and ineffective. If SDI is ineffective, why should the Russians be so worried about it, he says sarcastically.

Adelman's sarcasm is misplaced. We are worried about SDI because it is we, our countermeasures, that will have to lower its effectiveness. If need be, we shall do so. But, as has been said time and again at all levels, we do not want to waste our intellectual and material resources on a new round in the arms race. We have other, more important things to attend to. Secondly, we are worried that the Americans, believing in the effectiveness and "absolute reliability" of the anti-missile system might some day try it out in practice. They would be making a mistake, but there no longer would be anyone to analyze it. Thirdly, the very nature of a full-scale anti-missile system, the minimal spaces of time in which it would have to detect thousands of targets, try to intercept them and evaluate the effectiveness of the strikes, etc., virtually exclude the human being from decision-making. Whether mankind is to survive or not will be decided by computers,

not people. This too gives us cause for disquiet. Whatever our attitude to the Americans, we prefer to deal with them and not with their computers, however "intelligent" these may be.

It is a pity that all this does not worry the U.S. Administration. It is a great pity indeed that U.S. policy makers today think in terms of the pre-nuclear age. They are out to ensure the security of the United States by creating more and more dangers for others. In the nuclear age such a policy has no future. The terrible destructive power of nuclear weapons, Robert Bowman, Chairman of the Institute for Space and Security Studies, writes, has made the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in the sphere of security almost identical. We share a common interest in survival, which can be ensured only if we are able to prevent war. There is no such thing as national security any longer, he writes. There is only common security. Anyone who seeks to increase the threat to others only increases the threat to himself. The White House, however, just cannot see this interdependence. The most striking thing in Reagan's speech, the well-known U.S. journalist Strobe Talbott said, referring to the President's "star wars" speech, is his approach to anti-missile defence as something the U.S. can decide independently and not as a problem that has to be resolved together with the other superpower. The same instinctive predilection for unilateral defence not backed by the advantages of bilateral diplomacy is characteristic also of the President's attitude to nuclear weapons in general, Talbott observes.

This striving to settle everything "independently," without taking into account the interests and anxieties of the other side, determines the United States' stance at disarmament talks. Its attitude to talks is roughly this: let's try to persuade the Russians to accept our position, to agree to our terms, and if this cannot be done, we will leave them behind in the arms race and force our terms on them. All this is totally futile. The arms race, as has already been said, cannot be won. Every step forward in this race, the New York Times has rightly observed, compels the opponent to take countermeasures. And these countermeasures lower the security and stability level and make the situation worse for both sides. There is no way out of this vicious circle inasmuch as the advantages of the moment are always closer than the remote prospect of countermeasures by the adversary. Not the arms buildup but reciprocal disarmament is the sole reliable guarantee of national security for both sides. Moscow is clearly aware of this. "What is needed now as never before," Mikhail Gorbachev has said, "is a farsighted policy based on understanding of the realities and the dangers which we shall inevitably encounter tomorrow, if today those who can and must make the only correct decision evade the responsibility that rests with them." Moscow does not evade this responsibility.

A different atmosphere prevails in Washington. The Americans, hypnotized by their financial and technological potential, still hope that a few hundred billion dollars more, an extra trillion, will perform another "miracle" in military technology and then no talks with the Soviet Union will be needed, everything will be as it should be, security will be if not 150 per cent then at least 100 per cent guaranteed. This naive approach underlies U.S. military policy, even though its fallacy has been revealed long ago. The key to security, Richard Garwin, a prominent American scientist, has said, is to be found not in the novelties produced at military research laboratories, but in progress at the negotiating table. A similar view has been voiced by Thomas Powers, a prominent journalist, who says that the U.S. now is dependent on the common sense of the Soviet Union. This is a fact of life. Experts may devise all manner of technical miracles, but they cannot ensure our security; if Americans are destined ever to live in security, Powers says, the Russians too must enjoy the same security, which means that agreements must be reached through negotiations, and reached now, before we start spending more money, because then it will be too late to stop.

It is one of the paradoxes of American political life that while on the one hand there is no dearth of sound, profound judgements as regards the overall strategic situation and the demands it presents, on the other hand a primitive policy theoretically rooted in the pre-nuclear age prevails. ■

At its recent 10th Congress, the Polish United Workers' Party highlighted, amongst urgent issues facing Polish society, the need to further consolidate confidence in it and boost its prestige with the country's working class. "In the context of socialist democracy," Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed in his report to the congress, "the scale of working-class participation in the nation's life, its voice and influence on social processes are of fundamental significance."

This leitmotif of the Polish Communists' forum reminded me of a remarkable encounter in Warsaw.

The story is associated with Andrzej Wajda's famous film "Man of Marble." Why this was, though, is another question. The film was a box office hit and feelings ran high amongst reviewers. Unfortunately, I was not able to see it when last in Poland as it had already been and gone. True, I had no intention of subjecting it to critical analysis, and as for the story I had an overall idea of it; it was about a shock worker who had helped rebuild Warsaw after the war, but whom the authorities had reduced to nothing both professionally and personally.

The fortunes of the film itself had been chequered. I got to know it from the other end, so to speak, after having been introduced to a person more than directly associated with it.

In its time the script had been rejected and it lay for years in the archives. Andrzej Wajda came across it when social conflict was gathering momentum in the country. He deemed the time most opportune to show what people were protesting against. Competent critics say that the picture was masterly: Andrzej Wajda's talent certainly cannot be denied. But take this comment from a cinemagoer who is more or less a layman in the field: "It's a good picture and a moving one. I saw many wiping eyes as the film ended. But why play round with the facts as, after all, that was not what really happened. I really can't understand why he misrepresented our way of life."

When making his dubious picture about a working man who had suffered "at the hands of the authorities," Andrzej Wajda had no idea that the main "witness for the prosecution," if we may call him that, existed, indeed was still alive. The above-cited artless comment is from none other than the "man of marble" himself, a Warsaw bricklayer whose fate served as the theme which was then "suitably" seasoned by the script writer and "suitably" directed by Andrzej Wajda.

Now I hear the reader say: why mention the prototype, the concrete bio-

Off Screen

VITALY GANYUSHKIN

graphical particulars? It would be an oversimplification, it is suggested, to apply such criteria to a work of art. This is very true. However, in the first place, serious analysis nonetheless presumes a correlation between what happens in art with what happens in reality, and, in the second place, it is not art we are concerned with but the time when Wajda brushed the dust off this forgotten script and adapted it for the screen.

The Marshal's Baton of the Major

Michal Krajewski is a hale octogenarian, perhaps rather short but stocky and firmly built. His eyes and mind are piercing and penetrating, his speech is that of an intellectual, revealing a wealth of personal experience, knowledge, and reflection. But his life story has been such, that it would have snuffed out a man of lesser endurance and physique.

All his long life he has been a bricklayer who built walls. Indeed, if all the walls he has built were to be placed end to end we would have one long "Great Wall of China." True, there was one fairly long break. From the war through which he marched with the Polish People's Army from the very beginning until victory was won, he returned to the new People's Poland with the rank of major and a chestful of military decorations to which he subsequently added awards for distinguished labour. He is of the party to his very marrow. He joined it, today the Polish United Workers' Party, in 1928. In his own workman's fashion he mastered the Marxist science of winning. He "graduated" after seven years in a bourgeois prison for involvement in a strike in Stalowa Wola. When the second world war began, with many of his compatriots he sought refuge on the other side of the River Bug in the U.S.S.R. It so happened that he landed in the Urals town of Orsk, where he was apprenticed to the then nationally famous Maksimenko, who had devised a new bricklaying technique. Soon Michal had mastered the new method although initially he did not believe it was possible to lay from 6,000 to 7,000 bricks instead of the 600 to 800 a day to which he had been accustomed in Poland. However, there were days when he did more than ten quotas. So the Polish "murarz"—which means bricklayer—became a Soviet shock worker.

When the First Polish Army was formed in the U.S.S.R., Michal, with thousands of other Polish patriots, went to fight shoulder to shoulder with his Soviet comrades-in-arms. Yet despite all the different fronts, the frontiers, the trenches, and the attacks, this Polish working man carried like a marshal's baton the memory of Maksimenko's high-speed bricklaying technique.

Concert at the foot of a monument to Chopin in the Lazienki Park, Warsaw. From early spring to late autumn music lovers gather here on Sundays to listen to music by the great composer.

When peace came and the building of socialism began, the war-weary major had to remain in the armed forces though his heart bled to see the ruins and rubble of his native Warsaw and the files of anguishing homeless people returning to the ashes of their former dwellings.

The brave major felt that his "cushy" office was not for him, as he had in his hand the "magic wand," which would enable Warsaw to rise Phoenix-like from the ashes. At first he put down on paper the details of the high-speed bricklaying technique and presented them to the Communist Party newspaper Glos Ludu. His suggestion for rationalization was immediately favourably received and he was invited to write a series of articles about the new technique. However, that was not what he wanted. He was itching to apply the technique himself. It was not so simple, considering his rank and office, to give him a bricklaying job. Colleagues said he was crazy, and his wife almost divorced him for wanting to leave his well-paid job. But he persisted, was demobbed, and became a bricklayer.

However, before actually taking the job in hand he spent a month or so wandering around the city looking for a suitable wall on which to demonstrate the Maksimenko technique. At the head office of the construction site, he was advised to make wooden bricks and give a demonstration in what one might term laboratory conditions as nobody believed it could be done. However, he continued to insist that he had to demonstrate the technique not to officials but to other bricklayers. When talk of the bricklayer crank reached the ears of Boleslaw Bierut, he, though he had his hands full with matters of state, found time to see Michal and bombarded him with questions to get to the root of the matter and even asked him to draw the appropriate diagram. Michal's explanation was simple. Suppose you're reaping the corn. You must have somebody to follow behind to bind the sheaves together, as the reaper's job is to reap, and nothing more. The same could be said of the master mason, who must lay the bricks, without being distracted and have all the bricks he has laid tallied at the end of the day. What was needed was one or two apprentices, in short a team, plus adequate supplies.

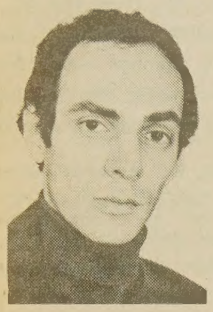
Following this "summit" meeting, Warsaw's bricklayers gathered, selected a suitable place and Michal at last took up his "marshal's baton," his trowel. I don't know whether they filmed his work, but before the incredulous bricklayers' eyes, he laid 3,600 bricks whereupon he had to stop as there were no more available.

That was when it all began. He himself sweated out record after record and was written about in the press. Michal became one of the first shock workers. Then followed the "living truth," which he subsequently failed to detect in Andrzej Wajda's picture. Not everyone found his innovations to their

TAKING UP A POINT

You give a great deal of publicity to your plans for accelerating economic development. I believe, however, that so long as you do not legalize competition you will get nowhere. It has long been an established fact that competition is the most important stimulus to economic progress. Why should it be feared!

Georges BLOCH
Lyons, France



Novosti Press Agency analyst VLADIMIR GUREVICH replies:

First a brief retrospect. At the very inception of the Soviet state socialism was accused of taking a "disdainful attitude" to competition. On this score Lenin wrote that socialism was not opposed to competition as such. What it rejected was capitalist competition. He predicted that precisely under socialism it would become possible "to organize competition not in its bestial but in its human form." Let us then be clear on this: capitalism gave rise to competition, which indeed stimulates its development, while the competition organized by socialism is an important factor of the development of a society without exploiters and exploited.

I do not know whether you have heard about Alexei Stakhanov. For us his name is linked with the development of socialist competition in the mid-1930s, when factory workers and miners achieved unique results by not only vying with one another in production performance but in challenging the highest productivity levels in the world, as Stakhanov, a coal miner, did. His example was followed by many of his comrades who exceeded the top coal output levels attained in the Ruhr, Wales, and North America, and later broke Stakhanov's own record.

The Stakhanov movement was joined by workers in other branches of the economy. A great many articles, pamphlets and books were written in those years in France, Italy and Switzerland about this movement, Western economists and sociologists conceding that at capitalist enterprises nothing of the kind was conceivable, for the workers would not display the same sincere enthusiasm in emulating one another for the sake of increasing the bosses' profits. For this, Romain Rolland wrote, the worker must know that he is the master.

Since then many years have passed, in the course of which our country has come a long way. Today its economic situation is altogether different and the forms of socialist emulation have also changed. Formerly we were mainly concerned with producing more—more steel, more machine tools, more footwear. Now, to no small extent thanks to this kind of competition, we turn out more steel, footwear and machine tools than any other country in the world. But not always is this output of a higher quality than, say, in France. The economy is faced with a new task: its output must be of high quality and be rapidly renewed, with the pace set not by the producer but by the consumer with his varied tastes and steadily growing requirements. Socialist emulation has demonstrated its effectiveness in the achievement of this objective.

As distinct from competition in capitalist society—and it is here that the answer to your question essentially lies—the purpose of competition under socialism is not to ruin the competitor by all possible means, and never was. Although in our country too the "losers" will be painfully made aware of their lag, for instance, as regards earnings and, on the scale of enterprises as a whole, as regards the social aspect (housing construction, for instance). More, inefficient enterprises that do not meet the country's requirements could be closed down. But this does not result in unemployment, as the case is in the West. The right to work is guaranteed in our country and every worker will find application for his skills. What is most important is that this has nothing in common with the bankruptcies so usual in the capitalist world.

It hardly need be mentioned that competition in the West is inseparably linked with industrial espionage, for instance. Firms there go so far as to deliberately undermine their competitors, concealing from one another their technological secrets, production costs, etc. Under socialism there are no "company secrets." On the contrary, we want working collectives to make ever more effective use of one other's achievements.

Another point of principle: capitalist competition as often as not leads to nonproductive squandering of resources. Why? Because the owner of capital goes by only one criterion—his rate of profit, even if his investment serves no socially useful purpose.

We know, of course, that capitalist competition is a powerful stimulus to technological progress. If we do not make use of this stimulus it is not because we are conservative. On the contrary, we are only too well aware that the utilization of a mechanism working on dog-eat-dog principle would not be a step forward; it would be a step backward damaging to all that socialism stands for.

Moreover, we by no means reject the principle of competitiveness; we apply it ever more actively, searching for forms that accord with our understanding of social justice and economic efficiency. ■

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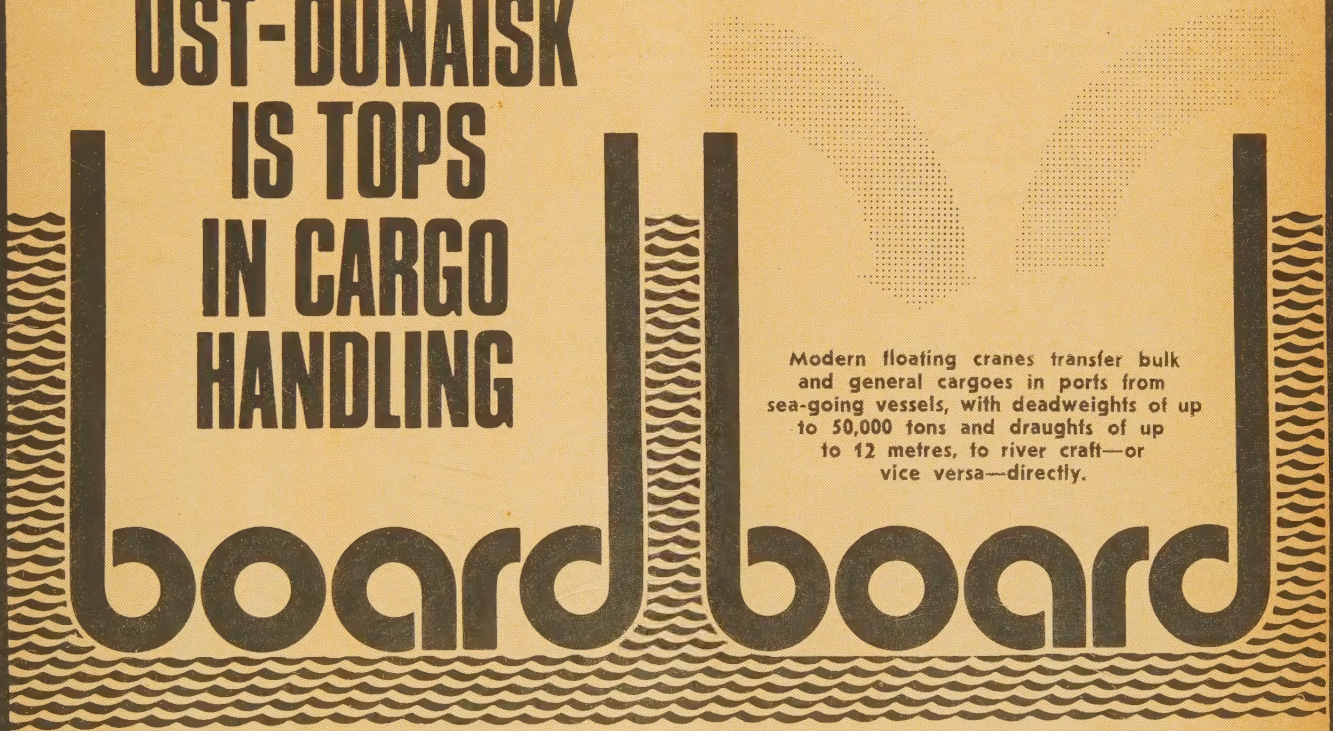

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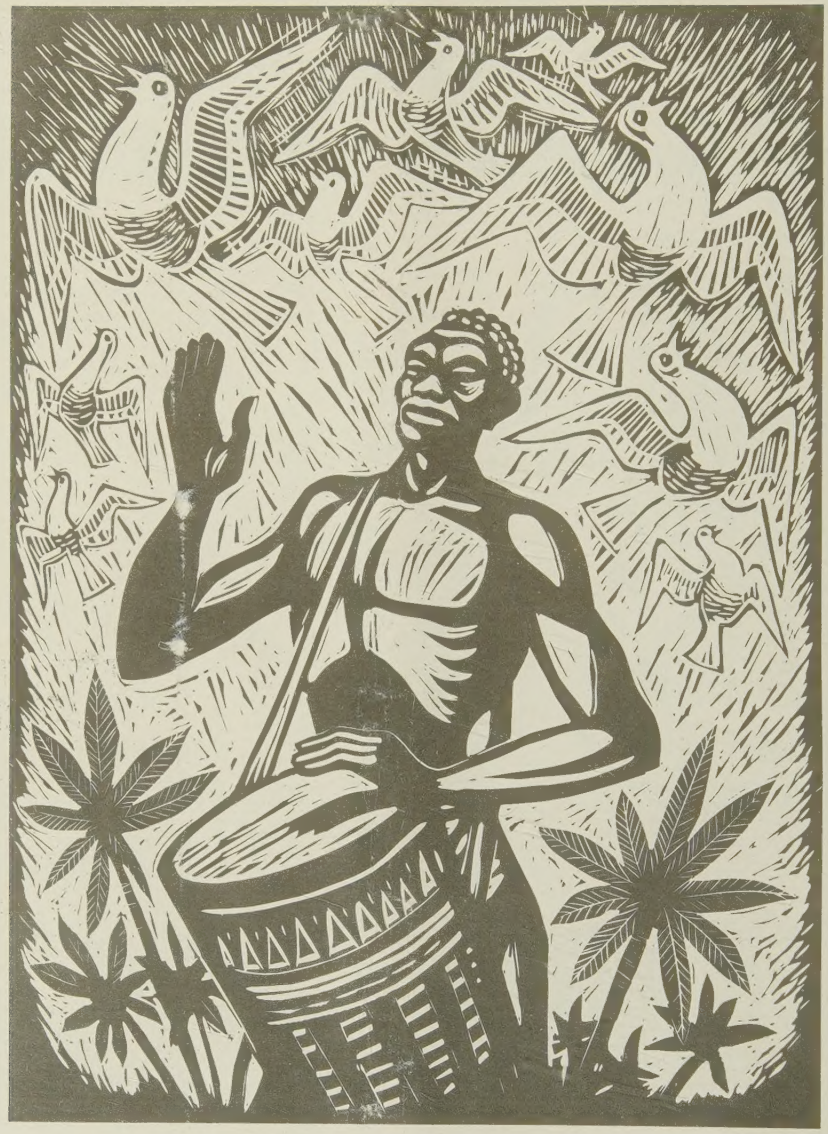

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